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4th Round of Nuclear Test Talks Opens in Geneva

LD2606134589 Moscow TASS in English 1323 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Geneva, June 26 TASS—The fourth round of the Soviet-American full-scale talks on limiting and ending nuclear tests began here on Monday with a meeting of chief delegates.

Principled matters concerning the content and organisation of the work were discussed. It is being pointed out here that in the previous rounds the sides had been able to work out a new mechanism for the verification of compliance with the 1976 treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes and to closely approach the coordination of a protocol to the 1974 treaty on the limitation on underground nuclear weapon tests.

Thereby a good basis was laid for achieving as soon as possible practical results during the current round.

U.S. Statement on Negotiations Cited

LD2706083789 Moscow TASS in English 0725 GMT 27 Jun 89

[By TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev]

[Text] Washington June 27 TASS—On Monday [26 June] the White House issued a statement in connection with the start of the fourth round of the Soviet-American full-scale Nuclear Testing Talks (NTT), confirming that in this field of arms control the Bush administration decided not to introduce substantial adjustments to the policy which had been persued by the previous government.

"The U.S. approach to these negotiations," the statement said, "complements our efforts to reach agreements that will strengthen our security and enhance stability."

The statement set it out as the first priority task of the United States at these "step-by-step" talks, which were resumed on June 26 after an almost half a year pause owing to the Bush administration's review of military and foreign policies, "to complete protocols to provide for effective verification" of the Threshold Test Ban Treaty of 1974 (TTBT) and the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty of 1976 (PNET).

Neither of the treaties had been submitted by the U.S. Government to the Senate for consideration and subsequent consideration because, as the White House put it, the treaties "were not verifiable in their original form." Such assertions had been refuted by certain American scientists.

The White House stated that much had been accomplished at the previous rounds of the Geneva talks. "We have substantially completed the protocol to the PNET", the statement said in particular.

The statement pointed out that the administration intended to refer the two treaties to the Senate to consideration only after the elaboration of a new verification mechanism. The treaties and their protocols will be submitted to the Senate as a "package for advice and consent to ratification", the White House stated.

It is known that the Soviet Union regards ratification of the two treaties only as an intermediate step on the way to complete and general ban on nuclear tests.

In a messge sent to the leaders of the "Delhi Six" on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of their initiative in favour of peace and disarmament, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev last week reaffirmed the Soviet Union's readiness to tackle this task on both multilateral and bilateral basis.

A detailed draft treaty on a total ban on nuclear weapon testing was submitted by the Soviet Union way back in 1987 at the Geneva conference on disarmament.

In his message Gorbachev again emphasised the Soviet Union's readiness at any moment to announce together with the United States on the basis of reciprocity a moratorium on all nuclear tests.

The White House statement has it that the U.S. stand at the Soviet-American nuclear testing talks "is based on a realistic approach to our security."

"As long as we must rely on nuclear weapons, we must continue to test to ensure their safety, security, reliability, effectiveness and survivability."

In other words, the U.S. Administration does not so far set it as an aim to reach agreement on a total termination of nuclear tests.

The WASHINGTON TIMES newspaper writes that the White House is in favour of a slow pace at the arms control talks.

The newspaper says that the decision to maintain the step-by-step approach at the nuclear testing talks, the approach which is roundly criticised by arms control advocates, was taken on Wednesday (June 21) at a meeting at the level of deputy members of the Cabinet.

A large group of membes of the U.S. Congress recently called for a revision of such stance. In a letter sent to President Bush (?early) in May, (?43) senators and 142 members of the House of Representatives wrote that they believe that the time has come to reconsider such a policy and to begin to take practical steps on the way to a total ban on all nuclear explosions.

Judging by everything, the White House, however, has turned a deaf ear to these calls and has given preference to the old approach.

Lobov Views Warsaw Pact, NATO Doctrines

LD2606134189 Moscow TASS in English 1320 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 26 TASS—Counting on force and on nuclear weapons is the yesterday of world and European politics, maintains General of the Army Vladimir Lobov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

In an interview with TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy in connection with the international seminar (which ended in the Federal Republic of Germany on Saturday) on the doctrines of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) and NATO, General Lobov pointed out that it was useful that the participants in the forum "frankly spoke out on a whole number of important issues pertaining to the military field."

General Lobov believes that in order to stimulate the disarmament process it is necessary to broaden contacts between WTO and NATO countries. "What is necessary in the international arena is cooperation, and not confrontation and rivalry," the general said.

He recalled that the provisions of the military doctrine of the WTO are subordinated to two major tasks: to prevent nuclear or conventional war and to ensure a reliable defence of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

"We hold that the level of military confrontation in Europe is excessively high and that it does not correspond to the peace-time state of affairs and is fraught with a threat of an all-out catastrophe," General Lobov said. "Therefore the military potentials of the WTO and NATO should be reduced to the level of defence sufficiency."

Speaking of the Brussels declaration of the NATO council, General Lobov emphasised that, along with constructive elements it still contained the "theory" of nuclear deterrence and power politics as if nothing essential had taken place in the world in recent years.

"The declaration is a mixture of new and old elements, which apparently reflects the state of transition from the 'cold war' to peaceful relations while security is visualised as being only 'for oneself,' and not as universal and equal," General Lobov said.

Inspectors Monitoring NATO Exercise Leave Denmark

LD2406011589 Moscow TASS in English 1614 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Copenhagen June 23 TASS—A group of Soviet officers left Denmark for home today after monitoring NATO's mobile force exercise code-named Avenue Express-89 in keeping with documents of the Stockholm conference.

Ryzhkov Greets 'Peace on the Seas' Conference

LD2606135289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1254 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jun (TASS)—Nikolay Ryzhkov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, sent greetings to the participants in the 17th international conference of "Peace on the Seas," which opened here today. We provide the full text of the greeting.

"I greet the participants to the 17th international 'Peace on the Seas' conference.

"All countries have a deep interest in the utilization of the seas and oceans as transport routes, as sources of food, industrial raw materials, and energy, and for the study and cognition of nature. The road to this leads via the cessation of the naval arms race, the limitation of military activity on the seas, and the creation of zones free of nuclear weapons.

"The Soviet Union favors naval forces, which are an important component of the military might of states and alliances, becoming the subject of an active international dialogue on arms reduction and disarmament. It is necessary to jointly ensure guarantees on the safety of maritime communications, to rule out the use of force on the seas, and to completely eliminate any misgivings of states on this count.

"The wide-scale discussion of these and other vital probolems at your conference, and energetic actions by various public circles in support of law and order and environmental protection on the world's oceans, favoring the primacy of international law, will contribute to genuine and lasting security for all states and peoples.

"Your conference is yet another proof of the growing role of nongovernment organizations and popular diplomacy in the international arena.

"I wish you successful work for the good of peace and progress."

Shevardnadze Greets Nonaligned Peace Conference

LD2506172289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1458 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jun (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze sent greetings to the participants at the Nonaligned Movement's conference of ministers that opens in The Hague tomorrow. We transmit the full text of the greetings:

"I send greetings to those taking part in the Nonaligned Movement's conference entitled 'Peace and International Law,' which is being held to mark the 90th anniversary of the first peace conference in The Hague.

"The decision of the Nonaligned Movement to convene a conference on matters relating to peace and international law is valued highly by the Soviet Union as an important step toward strengthening international law and order and legality. Mankind's realization of the interdependence and indivisibility of the world and the common objective destinies of all people is leading to the fact that states acknowledge a much greater need for the strict observance of international law today more than ever before.

"The Soviet Union believes that a world order which ensures equal security for all, and which is based on the principles of the UN Charter, is only possible given the strict observance of the norms for relations between states that have been agreed upon, and the binding nature of international law for all states. From our point of view, guaranteeing firm international law and order presupposes the primacy of law in the policies and practice of states, the priority of international commitments over internal statutes, and the universal applicability of generally recognized internationally law-based principles and norms. As M.S. Gorbachev stressed in his speech to the United Nations on 7 December 1988, our ideal is a world community of law-based states which also subordinate their foreign policy activity to the law.

"Orientation toward political means for resolving any problems which arise in relations between states inevitably presupposes reliance on international law. In connection with this the international community is entitled to expect that your conference will also make its contribution toward the peaceful settlement of disputes, resolving regional conflicts, and the prevention of crisis situations arising.

"I am confident that this forum of the Nonaligned Movement will become an important stage in strengthening the role of international law.

"I wish you successful and fruitful work."

USSR Delegate Assesses Human Rights Conference

LD2406032289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] [Announcer] The first phase of a conference on the human dimension of the countries participating in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe ended in Paris today. Our correspondent in France Oleg Maksimenko reports:

[Maksimenko] It was in every sense of the word an extraordinary event. Here in Paris, the mechanism for cooperation in the humanitarian sphere among countries participating in the Helsinki process, formulated 4 months ago in Vienna, began for the first time to be implemented. The proceedings of the forum took place in a fruitful atmosphere. The participants in the Paris conference, including the Soviet delegation, made more than 30 specific proposals concerning human rights problems and other humanitarian issues. Here is what the head of the Soviet delegation, Ambassador Comrade Kashin, said in an interview with Soviet radio.

[Begin Kashin recording] We in the Soviet delegation are by and large satisfied with the way this Paris part of the conference proceeded and ended. In Vienna a humanitarian breakthrough was accomplished: a breakthrough from the confrontation of the past on these questions of human rights and humanitarian ties to cooperation. The purpose was to consolidate that breakthrough and to a considerable extent that was achieved. We are especially pleased with the fact that the very idea of holding such a conference was first tabled by the Soviet Union.

At the opening of the pan-European meeting in Vienna, Minister Shevardnadze tabled a proposal that a conference on the development of humanitarian cooperation be held in Moscow. True, that idea has been transformed into a three-phase conference and now the first phase has been held, by and large, not badly. And here the intention of all countries to examine the problems of human rights as universal, of concern to literally every state—they concern both the West and us—has been confirmed, and the second thing is that this protracted three-phase conference is to be viewed as a process, and I mean a process. Consequently, the next phase will be in Copenhagen and the final one in Moscow, to which we, of course, attach very great importance. And here in Paris good prerequisites were established for successful work in Moscow. [end recording]

'East Bloc Opposition' Attends Socialist Congress

PM2306083089 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 20 Jun 89 p 12

[Kaa Eneberg report: "Socialist International: Guests From the East Bloc Here in Secret"]

[Excerpt] In secret and without being included on the official lists of invitations, oppositionist socialists from the Eastern Bloc have arrived in Stockholm to take part in the Socialist International Congress, which starts today in Stockholm's Folkets Hus.

Just as discreetly, the Chinese, who in the last few years have built up a considerable network of contacts, have sent regrets that they are not able to attend to the great relief of the organizers who would otherwise have found themselves in the very embarrassing situation of having somehow to refuse the Chinese entry. The Socialist International is expected to unanimously condemn developments in China.

Delegates from the newly awakened opposition in the Eastern Bloc represent, among others, the very newly formed Estonian Workers' Party, the resurrected Socialist Party in Poland, and the new Social Democratic Party in Hungary. However, they are officially invited not by the Socialist International, but by the labor movement's sister organization, AIC (the labor movement's international center). The Estonian party, Eesti Demokraatlik Tooerakond, has close links with the better known People's Front. The Polish party is an offshoot of the Solidarity trade union movement. [passage omitted]

Socialist International Congress Resolution Noted

PM2306151589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[D. Gorokhov and T. Lariokhin report: "Socialist International Congress Ends"]

[Text] The nineties could be the decade for talks, since problems that know no national or social borders are now assuming a dominant role. TASS correspondents report from Stockholm that the normalization of East-West relations has opened up extensive opportunities for multilateral cooperation. Willy Brandt, chairman of the Socialist International, said this at the 18th Socialist International Congress.

Summarizing the results of the debate at the forum, involving representatives of more than 80 socialist, social democratic, and labor parties and organizations, he stressed this major international association's desire to cooperate with other political forces in resolving global questions. We advocate fruitful, sincere, and really substantive dialogue, W. Brandt pointed out.

The congress adopted a resolution on questions of the International's activity in the international sphere. The document points out that considerable progress has been observed recently in the advance toward a durable peace, demonstrating the existence of the political will for disarmament. The Socialist International welcomes President Gorbachev's proposals made at the United Nations in December 1988 and President Bush's initiatives at the May NATO council session.

In the coming decade we must switch to nonoffensive defense and implement the principles of universal security on the basis of partnership. Our aim is in-depth reductions in both conventional and nuclear weapons. The arsenals of these arms could be halved. Verification and confidence-building measures must be expanded and encompass the activity of air, naval, and ground forces. We oppose the so-called "modernization" of tactical nuclear weapons, which is contrary to the spirit and letter of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

The resolution welcomes the democratic transformations in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and confirms the desire of the Socialist International parties to develop relations with them in various spheres of life.

Universal peace is the condition for the fulfillment of all our hopes, a fundamental value for all political systems, and a necessary condition for civilization's existence, the

"Declaration of the Principles of the Socialist International" approved at the congress stresses. This declaration supplants the previous Socialist International program document that was adopted on its creation in 1951. The declaration's 100 points formulate the Socialist International stance in the ideological and political spheres and in other spheres.

In the course of the congress, CPSU representatives, headed by K.N. Brutents, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, who were involved in the work of the Socialist International, met W. Brandt, chairman of the Socialist International, and the leaders of a number of parties in the Socialist International. They discussed questions of developing contacts and constructive dialogue on problems of the day.

Delegation to West Europe-USSR Dialogue Named

AU2706092089 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 27 Jun 89 p 2

[Text] Vienna—A high-level Soviet delegation will attend the Western Europe-Soviet Union Dialogue Congress, which will take place in Alpbach from 5 to 8 July 1989. The delegation's head is Ivan D. Ivanov, deputy chairman of the Soviet State Foreign Economic Commission with the rank of minister.

From the sector of economy and management, the Soviet delegation includes, among others, R.A. Otsason, deputy chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers.

Yuriy B. Kashlev, special envoy of the Moscow Foreign Ministry, will speak as the Soviet representative at the human rights discussion that is scheduled for 6 July.

In the sphere of culture and the media, the Soviet Union will be represented by Orthodox Metropolitan and People's Deputy Pitirim, head of the publishing house of the Moscow Patriarchate; Deputy Culture Minister Yuriy M. Khilchevskiy; and editors in chief Grigoriy A. Baklanov (SNAMIYA), Aleksandr A. Baranov (SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA), Sergey P. Salygin (NOVYY MIR), and Vladislav A. Starkov (ARGUMENTY I FAKTY).

Council of Europe Overtures to East Bloc Praised

PM2306153789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko dispatch: "Bridges to the Eastern Shore: Council of Europe Ready To Cooperate With Socialist Countries"]

[Text] Strasbourg, Paris—The Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland, and Yugoslavia have become the first countries to receive the status of "special invitees" to the Council of Europe, the consultative political organization of 23 West European states. The decision on this was taken unanimously at an extended sitting of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly Bureau.

The headquarters of the Council of Europe, the most representative international organization of the Old Continent, are located in the Palais de l'Europe in Strasbourg. A brief, solemn ceremony was recently held on the green lawns in front of the main entrance to the building, during which another flag was raised on the tall, white flagstaff: Finland has become the 23d member of the Council of Europe.

This organization, which celebrated its 40th anniversary at the beginning of May and which incorporates virtually every West European country, is still fairly unknown in both West and East. It is frequently confused with the European Economic Community (EEC), which has 12 member states.

The EEC, often referred to as the "Common Market," aims to eliminate all restrictions in trade between its member states, take a unified approach to the most important international and economic problems, bring the legislation and taxation systems of its members closer together, implement a common agricultural policy, and so forth. The EEC, whose activity has long since transcended the economic framework, intends to complete the formation of a "single European market" of the 12 countries by the end of 1992.

With regard to the Council of Europe, it is concerned with humanitarian activity, the organization of cooperation in science, culture, and education, and human rights.

A few words about its structure. Its main bodies are the Foreign Ministers Committee, which directs the council's activity, and its Parliamentary Assembly, which drafts and approves recommendations for the member states. The assembly consists of 177 representatives of the 23 countries, elected by their national parliaments from among their own deputies. Its special feature is that the members of the assembly represent the public rather than the governments of their countries, and they form international party groups—socialists, liberals, etc.

An important aspect of the Council of Europe's activity is the drafting of conventions, including conventions on human rights. One such convention, adopted in 1950, instituted two independent bodies—the European Commission on Human Rights and the European Court. But we will talk about what they do later.

...Arriving in Strasbourg, I saw changes in its activity which, to quote LE MONDE, attest to the fact that the Council of Europe "is living in the hour of restructuring." In my view, the changes taking place have been promoted to a certain extent by French President F. Mitterrand. "I believe that the time has come to establish closer ties between the two Europes, without any preliminary conditions, ties that would be distinguished by their newness," the president said in his anniversary speech in the Palais de l'Europe to the Parliamentary Assembly and the Ministers Committee. "The fate of all Europeans is interconnected, no matter which part of Europe they belong to. Real political will is needed in order to progress in this direction."

The period of change that has begun in the Council of Europe coincided with the fact that new political leaders are now at the head of this organization. Anders Bjorck, a young Swedish conservative deputy, was elected chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly at its May session, and the secretary general of the Council of Europe is now Catherine Lalumiere, a prominent figure in the French Socialist Party who for a number of years was secretary of state for European affairs.

A few hours after his election, A. Bjorck gave an interview to IZVESTIYA:

[Bjorck] I feel that a paramount task of the Council of Europe is to help to improve relations between East and West. We intend to play an appreciable role in this process, which I call the "new spring." As far as I am concerned, the concept of Europe is not restricted to its Western part but includes the whole continent. It is precisely for this reason that I support M.S. Gorbachev's concept of a "common European home," and believe that it is in our mutual interests and will help to overcome the present split in Europe. I am sure that the Soviet leader's planned speech to the Council of Europe will give a serious boost to the development of our cooperation with the socialist countries, which will start to become involved in its activity.

There are a large number of projects on which we can cooperate and cooperate very constructively—the human rights sphere included. For example, in our view Sweden is a fully democratic country but we sometimes feel that there is room for some improvement in our country with regard to human rights. In recent years the European Court has pointed out more than once that Sweden is acting in violation of these rights—in the length of custody pending trial, for example—so now we are changing our legislation to make it more European. And I am glad that former dissidents, such as Academician A.D. Sakharov, are now taking part in Soviet political life. In my opinion, they must be part of society rather than remain outside it.

[Kovalenko] Do you feel it is possible that the Soviet Union could become a full member of your organization?

[Bjorck] Yes, although this will take time. My dream is for all European countries, including the Soviet Union, to become full members. We have been visited by delegations of Soviet parliamentarians. I will be making my first official visit to your country at the end of June, as head of a parliamentary assembly delegation. And, finally, we have taken the decision to grant the status of "special invitees" to the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Poland. This is only the first step. I am sure that, as all-European processes become stronger, the role of our organization will grow. I believe we could contribute to implementing decisions taken within the CSCE framework. [Bjorck ends]

Catherine Lalumiere, the new secretary general of the Council of Europe, reminded me that the Soviet Union had once regarded this international organization as an "instrument of the cold war." The council had repaid us in kind, taking a hostile stand toward the socialist world. A lot of water has flown under the bridge since then, and today we give the Council of Europe its due, as it has been able to assess the new Soviet policy thanks to which new prospects are opening up before the organization.

C. Lalumiere would now like to see the Council of Europe become a link between East and West. "The changes taking place in your country, which I consider irreversible, have enormous significance for us," the secretary said to me. "We want to increase contacts between East and West and help to bring them closer together."

"The speech M.S. Gorbachev is planning to make to the Council of Europe during his visit to France will be a very important event for us," C. Lalumiere remarked. "We are expecting him to set out his approach to creating a 'common European home.' We are an organization that generates ideas, and I hope that the Soviet leader's proposals and our own ideas will help to build a great, unified Europe."

[Kovalenko] "Ideas generated by the Council of Europe often take the form of international conventions, of which this organization has adopted more than 130. But there are also similar documents from the United Nations, UNESCO, and so forth. Are there not too many of them?"

"It is indeed true," C. Lalumiere agreed, "that there is rather an abundance of these documents, but this is an inevitable consequence of the legal system. The inflation of legal texts is, to a certain extent, the price you have to pay for a rule-of-law state. Naturally, they do not all have equal significance. The main thing is that there are democratically approved documents which protect the interests of all of society's citizens."

It would be wrong to think, however, that the activity of the Council of Europe amounts to nothing more than drafting normative acts. Within the context of Western Europe it is concerned with a broad range of problems to do with science, culture, education, sports, the mass media, and, finally, human rights.

Any state belonging to the council may appeal to the European Commission on Human Rights and the European Court against another state belonging to this organization for violation of these rights. The European Court examined the violation of human rights in Greece during the years of rule by the "Black Colonels." Ireland has brought charges against Britain for its inhuman methods of dealing with people arrested in Northern Ireland. Private individuals or a group of individuals may appeal to either of these bodies if they feel that they are the victims of human rights abuses in their own country. The human rights commission receives some 3,000 appeals each year. They are concerned with the most diverse issues: Infringement of trade union activity, the tapping of telephone conversations, violations of freedom of speech, corporal punishment in schools, the position of immigrants, and so forth. The procedure for examining these appeals is complex and goes through many stages. The process sometimes takes several years. But a decision taken by the European Court to protect human rights is binding on the member states and not liable to appeal.

Becoming acquainted with the activity of the Council of Europe in various spheres, I realized that it has everything necessary for effecting broad international cooperation: legislation, well-organized structures, the necessary resources, and first class specialists.

The Soviet public only recently began to become acquainted with the activity of the Council of Europe. The first contacts have been established in the field of disaster prevention. Following the Armenian earthquake, a delegation of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Academy of Sciences visited Strasbourg and held talks with Council of Europe specialists who study this problem within the framework of an open, partial protocol on the prevention of major natural and technological disasters. The Council of Europe finances work in this area by eight research centers—in France, Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, and other countries. It was explained to me that Soviet involvement in this program could take various forms, even extending as far as signing the protocol itself.

Of course, this is not the only area for possible cooperation between our country and the Council of Europe. Its health care programs are also of considerable interest to us.

The Council of Europe has adopted a new convention which defines the procedure for international television broadcasting in Europe, which is now open for signing. Its aim, Jacques Hennie [name as transliterated], adviser to the Palais de l'Europe press department, explained to me, is to avoid anarchy and the kind of situation where anyone can do what they like, to observe certain norms with regard to the program content and the regulation of advertising, and, at the same time, to preserve the principle of freedom of information.

The Council of Europe is engaged in projects from which we could derive considerable practical benefit. To name but a few: environmental protection (the European Committee for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources was formed in 1962), the work of local organs of self-government, and the restoration of the architectural heritage.

During my numerous conversations at the Palais de l'Europe I became convinced that people here are in favor of "building bridges" and building cooperation with socialist countries. The leaders of the organization and parliamentarians see this as a real way to strengthen the role and influence of the Council of Europe and turn it into a universal organization of all-European cooperation. It is no accident that people in Strasbourg are paying such attention to the idea of a "common European home."

People in the Palais de l'Europe intend to promote contacts between East and West. The Parliamentary Assembly has positively appraised the democratic transformations taking place in the Soviet Union, the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Parliamentarians have welcomed the establishment of official relations between the EEC and CEMA and stressed the need for complementary actions by the Council of Europe and the EEC in the development of ties with the socialist world, particularly with regard to the Helsinki accords.

The Council of Europe is demonstrating its willingness to play an important role in developing East-West cooperation and deepening and translating into practice the concept of a "common European home."

United States & Canada

Gorbachev Sends Greetings to Canadian Party Leader

LD2606121189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has sent congratulations to Comrade William Kashtan, chairman of the Communist Party of Canada Central Committee on the occasion of his 80th birthday. The telegram states:

Soviet communists know that your whole life has been intrinsically linked with the international workers' and democratic movement, and value your work over many years as a consistent internationalist and a campaigner for friendly relations between the peoples of Canada and the Soviet Union.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev wished William Kashtan good health and success for the good of his people.

Johns Hopkins Study on U.S.-Soviet Relations Cited

LD2706094389 Moscow TASS in English 0846 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Washington June 27 TASS—The Bush administration should use "realistically, but boldly" the opportunities opened up by the changes in the Soviet Union "to explore fully the potential for further improvements—and even breakthroughs—in U.S.-Soviet relations." Such is the chief recommendation offered by a group of leading U.S. military and foreign policy experts in their report "The Future of U.S.-Soviet Relations" published here on Monday by the Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institutue (FPI) in Washington. The report contains recommendations to the Bush administration on a wide range of Soviet-American issues.

The report's authors include such prominent political leaders as former Secretaries of State Edmund Muskie and Cyrus Vance, former Defence Secretaries Melvin Laird, Harold Brown and James Schlesinger, as well as former (?ambassador to) the Soviet Union Arthur Hartman and former CIA director Richard Helms.

The measures adopted by the Soviet Union after 1985, the report says, including unilateral steps in arms and armed forces cuts are creating conditions for putting Soviet-American relations on a less dangerous and more stable cooperation basis. According to the report's authors, the United States and other Western countries should proceed from the fact that "the resources and strengths of the USSR are such that attempts to destabilise it by external economic or political pressures offer unwise and perhaps dangerous prospects."

The United States, the report went on to say, should "accept greater and progressive Soviet involvement in international economic organisations, including the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and GATT," and abstain from exerting ungrounded pressure on those Western countries which offer credits to the USSR. The report also calls for a review of the curent U.S. laws restricting trade with the Soviet Union.

Pointing out that "the total elimination of nuclear weapons is not in the Western interest at this time," the American experts emphasise that the United States should continue the START talks. "Conditioning a START agreement on prior and concurrent success in the more difficult and complex issues of conventional arms reductions," will, according to them, impede strategic agreements.

As for the Star Wars programme, the report says that "the United States should be prepared to agree on a ten-year recommitment to the ABM Treaty, as it was signed in 1972."

The report also stressed the importance of continuing U.S.-Soviet diplomatic consulations on regional problems and expanding on a process already under way, which will "help reduce risks of future U.S.-Soviet confrontation in regional crises."

Commentary on Quayle's Tour of Latin America

Shows U.S. Still 'Meddling'

LD1506174989 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 15 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Nikolay Chigir: U.S. Vice-President Dan Quayle maintained during his visits to Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica that the goal of the U.S. policy in Central America is to bring peace and democracy. However, there is not any harmony between these words and the Washington administration's concrete deeds and plans in the region, which is borne out by the U.S. Vice President's trip itself.

The fact that Nicaragua was not put, this time too, on the list of states in the region visited by high-ranking U.S. officials was evaluated by Latin American political observers as a proof of the anti-Nicaraguan course steered by the U.S. ruling circles. It follows from Quayle's pronouncements that commitment to the principles of the power approach is preserved in Washington alongside the forced recognition of the realities in the region.

Washington's stubborn stake on flagrant interference in Panama's internal affairs, which was also confirmed during Quayle's trip, sparks justified concern in Latin America and among the world public. It is symptomatic that the U.S. Vice President's threats to resort to new sanctions against Panama, if its leadership does not bow to Washington's diktat, were issued at the time when a special commission of the Organisation of American States, which is meant to elaborate recommendations to settle the political crisis in that country, is in session in Panama. Washington's calculation is obvious—to bring pressure to bear on OAS representatives.

The U.S. current policy vis-a-vis Nicaragua and Panama slightly differs from the one which was pursued by the previous Reagan administration. Just like previously, Washington stakes on power methods, meddling in other states' internal affairs, and hampering their peoples to independently make their choice. Quayle's trip also shows that the United States tries to force those Central American States, which he visited, to toe its policy which is in glaring conflict with legal standards and the principles of new thinking in international relations.

Motives Behind Tour Viewed

PM1906103989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: " 'Dollar Diplomacy'"]

[Text] With his visit to San Jose U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle completed his tour of Central American countries.

In the course of his tour he has had meetings with the presidents of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica.

Assessing the results of the U.S. vice president's tour, Latin American political observers are agreed that its main aims were to strengthen military and political opposition to the Sandinista government and enlist support for Washington's anti-Panama policy.

Using "dollar diplomacy" and political pressure, D. Quayle tried to bind the governments of these four countries even closer to the United States' regional policy directed against Nicaragua and Panama, as well as national liberation movements, PRENSA LATINA commented.

In Honduras D. Quayle had a meeting with the leaders of the Nicaraguan contras, including Enrique Bermudez, a former colonel in the Somoza guard. This prompted indignation among the Honduran public, which had been expecting that the serious economic problems troubling their country would be discussed during the visit.

Quayle confirmed Washington's readiness to give direct support to the Army and government of El Salvador in antipartisan actions, a statement by the association of Salvadoran mothers of political prisoners and those who have disappeared without a trace emphasized.

Latin American political observers note that the U.S. vice president's tour has taken place during preparations for the next meeting of Central American presidents. In this respect Nicaragua was "traditionally" excluded from the list of states in the region visited by the American representatives. In one of his statements D. Quayle pointed out that the United States would find it preferable if Nicaragua were isolated from the other Central American countries.

On Tour, U.S.-Panama Relations

PA1606183889 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Commentary by Vladimir Yestenev]

[Text] U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle's tour of four Central American nations—Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Costa Rica—took place at a time when subversives are expected to take specific steps to implement the Central American peace plan, which is based on agreements reached among the Central Americans themselves. The agreements, known as Esquipulas II, were signed by the Central American presidents in 1987.

Dan Quayle said that there is consensus among the Guatemalan, Honduran, Salvadoran, and Costa Rican presidents on the need to comply with the peace plan. We recall that the demobilization of the Nicaraguan contras is part of those agreements. Concerning this, Quayle made no specific comments. However, he did mention that the White House is concerned over the threat to peace and security in South and Central America as a result of the emergence of an alliance between Nicaragua, Cuba, and Panama. What is the reason for this assertion, which results from a lively imagination but which nevertheless was made by a senior U.S. Government official? I believe that it is aimed at spreading discord among Latin Americans, an attempt that is not new.

Another important issue on Quayle's agenda was the Panamanian situation, which became tense following the annulment of the 7 May Panamanian elections. According to U.S. Vice President Quayle, the solution lies with General Manuel Antonio Noriega [commander in chief of the Panama Defense Forces]. Noriega must leave; there is no question about it, Quayle bluntly stated, forgetting that he was referring to a sovereign country.

We recall that the OAS recently appointed a mediating commission to seek formulas for reconciliation in Panama. What is the U.S. position regarding that commission? If the OAS does not find a solution to the Panamanian political crisis, the United States will try new options, Dan Quayle warned during his tour. However, it is a known fact that the United States is also a member of the OAS. Therefore, it is only logical that it should do its part by showing its goodwill in this effort. Nonetheless, reality shows otherwise: The anti-Panamanian campaign continues, along with a number of U.S. sanctions against that country.

Returning to the subject of the U.S. vice president's tour, some OAS delegation members were disappointed with Dan Quayle's statement against Gen Noriega. They were disappointed with the obvious U.S. intervention in Panama's domestic affairs. Based on what we have just said, one can draw one's own conclusions about the results of the U.S. vice president's tour through the four Central American countries and the superpower's actual intentions in the region.

Tries To 'Pressure' Area Presidents

PM2106092389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Korionov "Viewpoint": "Confrontation"]

[Text] The national reconciliation process is gathering momentum in the Central American region. The contras' military defeat created a real opportunity to extinguish the flames of the dangerous conflict there. Political means of tackling the issue have come to the fore. The Contadora countries and the governments of Central American states are keenly involved in this process. At the same time, Latin American countries have joined in efforts to ease the tension in Panama.

But this development of events does not suit certain circles in Washington. The most recent example of this is U.S. Vice President D. Quayle's trip to Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Costa Rica. The Latin American countries' press notes that the purpose of the trip was to use "dollar diplomacy" to bind the aforementioned countries' governments even closer to Washington's policy, which is directed chiefly against Nicaragua and Panama and against the national liberation movements in the region.

In Honduras the vice president had a meeting with the ringleaders of the Nicaraguan contras, at which the White House representative did not even touch on the question of disarmament or withdrawal of what remains of the Somozist gangs from the territory of Honduras. Quayle continued the line of preventing a peace settlement when in San Salvador, where he promised further U.S. aid for the country's new regime.

But the senior Washington envoy concentrated on trying to pressure the Central American countries' presidents. On setting off on his trip, the vice president said for all to hear that his aim was to "engage in a substantive debate" with the presidents on the eve of their upcoming meeting, whose outcome could have a definite influence on the future development of the situation in Nicaragua and Panama.

In an article "U.S. foreign policy—An obstacle to the Implementation of the Peoples' Rights," published the other day in the journal SOCIAL JUSTICE, Professor R. Falk of the international studies center at Princeton University stated that the "Reagan doctrine" has outlived that administration and operates to this day.

A general election in Nicaragua is set for next February. Guided by goodwill, the Sandinista government is making a big effort to create a more favorable atmosphere for holding talks. A Supreme Electoral Council is being set up to monitor the upcoming elections. More than 20 political parties and organizations are operating freely and their representatives can participate in the elections. In accordance with agreements reached in February at the meeting of Central American heads of state, the Nicaraguan Government declared an amnesty for about 2,000 former crack Somozist troops. Under the terms of the amnesty several anti-Sandinist leaders have already returned to the country from exile. The Nicaraguan Government has asked the United Nations to send observers to the upcoming elections.

Washington's main aim today is to hinder the normal development of the democratic process in Nicaragua and bring about the destabilization of the domestic political situation at all costs.

A similar policy is being conducted vis-a-vis Panama, where the domestic political situation has been complex since the election tribunal's annulment of the results of the May general election. It is being severely strained by U.S. "psychological warfare," political blackmail, and trade and economic sabotage.

The Latin American countries' desire to tackle their own domestic issues themselves was reflected in a decision by the consultative conference of heads of foreign policy departments of the OAS countries to set up a commission to devise mutually acceptable recommendations on national reconciliation and the achievement of consensus among the different strata of Panamanian society.

So the struggle continues. Imperialist circles are not abandoning their dubious intentions. But neither is the Latin American patriots' resistance flagging.

China

Nikiforov Receives PRC Foreign Ministry Group

LD2606153589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1515 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jun (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Nikiforov today received a delegation of leading officials of the PRC Foreign Ministry and diplomatic insitute [as received], who are in Moscow. Taking part in the friendly conversation was Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the Soviet Union.

PRC Provincial Delegation Visits Estonia

PM2106093389 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 2 Jun 89 p 3

[ETA report: "Document Signed"]

[Text] On 31 May A. Gren, Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] minister of foreign affairs, and Huong Qun, director for international affairs of the PRC's Guangdong Province, signed a protocol on cooperation between the Estonian SSR and Guangdong Province.

The delegation, which was headed by Zhu Yiming, deputy secretary general of the Provincial People's Government, was in our country for a week. During the visit it met with A. Soydla, first deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Government, and M. Pilv, deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR State Planning Commission. The guests visited the Tallinn City Hall and were acquainted with the work of Estonian radio and television.

The delegation also visited Kokhtla-Yarve, the "Slantsekhim" production association, and Tartu.

Recent Student Unrest in China Viewed

PRC Press on Reform, Arrests

PM2006141789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov report under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Two Themes Dominate"]

[Text] Beijing—Two themes now dominate the pages of Chinese newspapers, commentaries, information reports, and XINHUA teletype tapes.

The first theme: The policy of reforms and openness to the outside world, whose sources should be sought in the decisions of the December 1978 plenum which shifted the center of gravity from the class struggle to the modernization of the country, will not change. This is what was written, for example, by a commentator for the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO: "The Chinese leaders have repeatedly said that this policy will not change. Moreover, the truth of this policy is confirmed by the practice of the last decade. It accords with the realities of China and world development trends."

Addressing representatives of foreign trade circles from various countries in Beijing, Zheng Tuobin, minister of foreign economic relations and trade, said that, in his view, most developed capitalist countries will not change the nature of their ties with China because of recent events in Beijing. Developing countries and the majority of socialist countries' governments, the minister continued, have shown understanding of the steps taken by us and intend to develop economic ties with China. Zheng Tuobin noted that all joint projects with foreign firms will be continued, with the exception of those terminated on the initiative of the foreign partners.

One concern of the country's foreign economic development strategists is to stop the decline in exports. In the minister's opinion, stabilization of output, improvement in the financial situation, and the expected good harvest create fairly good conditions for increasing exports. Incidentally, according to information from the central observatory, dry, hot weather is expected in the near future over considerable areas of northern China, which will be good for gathering the harvest and drying grain.

The second theme: "Unity in the struggle against the common enemy" (I quote the heading of a recent commentary in the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO). The author of the commentary believes that the key to total victory over the counterrevolutionary revolt lies in exposing the conspiracy of a very small number of people, isolating the handful of reactionaries, and strengthening the unity of the party, the Army, and the people. Radio and television recently broadcast a detailed description of the 21 leaders of the outlawed "Independent Association of Beijing Students," which was set up during the student demonstrations this spring. In a special notice, the PRC Ministry of Public Security has accused this association of "inciting and organizing counterrevolutionary revolt." Orders for their arrest have been issued by the Beijing Public Security Administration. As the notice points out, the leaders—for whom a nationwide search has been announced—were responsible for organizing the student hunger strike in Tiananmen Square and other political events. According to XINHUA, two leaders of the association have been arrested outside Beijing and another gave himself up to the police on a train traveling from Beijing to Shenyang.

Another circular, published in the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, bans all illegal organizations "inciting public unrest." Their members must make themselves known to the police.

According to the newspapers, the police have begun to arrest those suspected of arson attacks, violence, and robbery during the recent disturbances. Precise information on the numbers arrested has not yet been given. But, according to the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, several hundred people have already been arrested this week.

Situation 'Normalizing'

OW2106010389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1115 GMT 20 Jun 89

[From the "World Today" program presented by Igor Kudrin]

[Text] It has been reported from Beijing that after 2 months of turmoil, the situation in China is normalizing. Army units have been withdrawn from the center of the capital and are actively involved in helping to clean up main traffic arteries. Public security organs are continuing to search for activists of the independent association of Beijing students, a banned organization. It has been announced that several of the 21 activists on the wanted list disseminated earlier have already been arrested. Yang Tao, chairman of the Beijing University Students Association, has been taken into custody. Eleven have been condemned to death in Beijing and Shanghai.

Chinese leaders Li Peng, Qiao Shi, and Yao Yilin have met with relatives of servicemen who died during the process of restoring law and order in Beijing. Speaking on national television, Li Peng declared that the government displayed restraint in putting down the counterrevolutionary mutiny.

One more point of interest: The Chengdu City Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, Sichuan Province, has appealed to all foreign businessmen who left the city during the recent events to return to Chengdu.

'Stabilization' Moves Noted

PM2106142589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "Beijing: Moving Toward Stabilization"]

[Text] Beijing—"The recent counterrevolutionary unrest in Beijing has basically been suppressed, and the situation as a whole is moving toward stabilization"—so Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, believes. "Nonetheless," he added, "quite a large number of rebels have still not been caught, they will not go unpunished, we shall not permit a return to the old ways."

This thought was expressed by Li Peng on Monday when he, Qiao Shi, and Yao Yilin, all three of whom are members of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee, met with the relatives of three servicemen who died during the events in Beijing at the beginning of June. The restraint demonstrated by the party, the government, and the Army for almost 2 months from the middle of April is rarely encountered in any other country, Li Peng stressed. The forces called upon to implement martial law, the premier continued, were forced at the last moment to resort to self-defense. Otherwise there would have been even more casualties and losses. No leniency will be shown to those who participated in the massacre, robbery, and murder of soldiers and policemen, even if they are students, the premier stated.

XINHUA reports that China's other cities are also recovering. Pensioners have returned to the city squares which have reopened in Chengdu, the administrative center of Sichuan, the most densely populated province in China. People are playing chess there again and newspapers are rustling in the shade of the trees. It is very crowded in the commercial center, whose trade turnover has reached 80 percent of the average turnover in former times. Incidentally, the well-known "People's Market" —the largest general store in Southeast China— sustained the most damage from fire during the disturbances in Chengdu at the beginning of June. About 60 adjacent stores were also burned down.

Representatives of the local and foreign tourist agencies and managers of Beijing's hotels gathered in the capital to discuss the problem of how to revive tourism. Bo Xicheng, director of the Beijing tourist affairs administration, gave assurances that the present difficulties are temporary and his administration will soon begin training cadres for the coming 11th Asian Games in September of next year. Bernard Rigger [name as transliterated], general manager of the "Lido" hotel, said that foreign tourist agencies are not sending tourists to China because television in diverse countries is broadcasting a great deal of negative information on events in China. In his view, foreign embassies will only recommend that their governments lift restrictions on tourists traveling to China when embassies sense physically that martial law in Beijing has been lifted.

Steps, in particular a statement on behalf of one of the Chinese Government's leaders, have also been recommended to remove the feeling, which is widespread in the world these days, that it is not safe for foreigners in China.

Northeast Asia

Senator's Call for U.S. ROK Troop Cut 'Positive'

PM2106101389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jun 89 Second Edition p 7

[Correspondent Sergey Tikhomirov Commentary: "The Reason for the Anxiety"]

[Text] Pyongyang—Did Carl Levin, member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, consider the effect that would be produced by his statement on the need to reduce the number of U.S. troops in the south of the Korean peninsula? Hardly. But judging by the reaction in Seoul I would conjecture that this will afflict him for a long time to come. However, let us start from the beginning.

Several days ago the BALTIMORE SUN carried an interview with Levin in which he called for a phased withdrawal of the Pentagon's expeditionary corps from the south of the Korean peninsula. In the senator's opinion, the 43,000-strong U.S. contingent should be reduced to 10,000 men over 5 years. This proposal produced a mixed response in South Korea. Kim Dae Jung, leader of the country's largest opposition party, responded positively to the senator's idea whereas the ruling party gave it a hostile reception. Two other opposition groupings believe that the debate on the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the peninsula is premature.

Why is the "Levin plan" unacceptable to the No Tae-u government? The answer to that question was given last Monday by South Korea's defense minister, Yi Sang-hun. Addressing members of the country's National Assembly, he stated that Seoul regards the presence of U.S. troops in Korea as a significant deterrent to the outbreak of war. Yi used the "argument" that the North is unwilling to abandon its plans to "convert the South to the communist faith" with the aid of force.

To be blunt, the argument is not particularly new. Who if not the South Korean defense minister ought to know the position of the DPRK leadership, which has repeatedly stated in public that the North has no intention of attacking the South. The DPRK's initiatives on the transformation of the peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone and the calls for the mutual abandonment of major military maneuvers have still not found a positive response in Seoul.

Then came Carl Levin's interview. Of course, the senator could be reproached for saying nothing about the fate of the 10,000 Americans remaining in South Korea (if, of course, the other 33,000 soldiers do leave the peninsula). Nor did the senator say anything about his attitude toward the nuclear weapons sited in South Korea.

However, I would pay tribute to Levin's generally positive proposal, which may ultimately lead to a reduction in tension in this explosive region.

Lack of Expertise Said To Hamper Japan Ties

PM2106152789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Agafonov dispatch under the rubric "The World and Us": "Embassy Gates. How the Work of Soviet Diplomats Is Changing Today"]

[Text] Tokyo—I do not know exactly which period of our history—not one of the best, I would assume—produced and legitimated the lexical freak "sovkoloniya" [Soviet colony] which we still use and which designates a collective of Soviet citizens working abroad. As a matter of fact, interest lies not so much in the term itself but in the extent to which it graphically reflected (in years past which will never come back, we hope) the status and morals which governed the life of our compatriots who, by dint of their vocation or career, found themselves posted on lengthy spells of duty abroad. The colony lifestyle, regardless of outward trappings in the "host country," was based on sullen unsociability and hypertrophied suspiciousness, which were later euphemized in official appraisal reports as "fastidiousness in contacts" and "vigilance."

I personally find this a great mystery: How did our country manage to achieve the diplomatic breakthroughs and score the unquestionable successes of the past decades—after all, and apart from rare exceptions, the actual "directives" which people received when going to work abroad fettered initiative, entrapped consciousness, and deprived diplomacy of the fundamental and core element of that vocation—creativity.

Is it any wonder that, as the years passed, the "colony structure" migrated from behind the walls of embassies and missions abroad to the Foreign Ministry in Moscow, transforming it into a kind of cocoon whose laws and activity were as much of a closely kept secret for our own Soviet public as they were for the public abroad? This is obviously not the most correct way to present the issue. Ultimately, the Foreign Ministry is not something unto itself but an element of the state system, and the departments should not be blamed. On the other hand, however, the whole does not exist separately from its components and therefore, while admitting the community of vices engendered by the administrative bureaucratic system, we must also admit that they did not bypass the Foreign Ministry and that it needs restructuring as much as other sectors in our vast economy.

IZVESTIYA raised this topic back at the end of March, when it published an interview with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and identified a series of key avenues for the Foreign Ministry's restructuring, with the work of embassies being central among them. It is this far from simple process that I would like to illustrate by dwelling on some aspects of the activity of the USSR Embassy in Japan.

...One could make reference to facts, to coincidences, and to a certain historical determinism which conditioned the complexity of the development of Japan's relations with our country, but it so happened that things have not gone smoothly with our Far Eastern neighbor through the ages. I may be wrong, but it seems to me that the roots of this must be sought in the fact that the history of our bilateral contacts does not, to all intents and purposes, contain a single noteworthy—even if only in terms of duration—stage of equality or of unbiased and objective appraisal of each other. Our forefathers unquestionably possessed remarkable attributes but, back in the past and where Japan was concerned, they never managed to avoid the arrogance of civilization and the great-power snobbery aggravated by "European leanings." The island country became firmly established along the periphery of Russian interests, accused by trailblazers and the tsar's envoys of "primitiveness" and "Asian barbarism" behind which the Russian eye perceived the serious potential and colossal ambitions of a young and dynamic nation.

This illusion of superiority was repaid a hundredfold at the bloodbath of Port Arthur and at Tsushima, but the sobering-up occurred too late—Japan was already in the ascendant, with its claims to a messianic role throughout the region and its scorn for its increasingly decrepit neighbor, a scorn which intensified as social disorders in Russia developed and reached its culmination point following the disastrous "Siberian expedition." This was followed by Lake Khasan and the Halhaiin Gol, an escalation of tension whose spring was held in place by a nonaggression treaty despite which the Japanese quietly sank our ships, and finally yet another war in which the roles were once more reversed—the Japanese might lay in ruins crowned by U.S. occupation.

Over the decades since then, self-confidence and an exceptionally developed optimism regarding our own worth once more played an evil trick on us—we again "overlooked" Japan's takeoff and are now reaping the full harvest of missed opportunities, painfully shifting the obstacles and accretions, laying bridges, and—perhaps for the first time—realizing that, on a grand scale, Japanese-Soviet relations represent a virgin land which we are only just beginning to open up.

At first glance, this historical digression is hardly relevant to the work of today's Soviet Embassy in Tokyo but, in actual fact, the cornerstone of today's restructuring is made up of a comprehensive review of our entire experience of contacts with this country and a clear definition of real, objective positions, the correlation of forces, interests, and other conditions setting the tone and level of bilateral dialogue. And this dialogue actually begins at embassy level, being based on the competence of its staffers, the correctness of their analysis, the breadth of their vision, the boldness of their forecasts, their initiative, and desire to seek original solutions and to establish contacts, and so on and so forth.

All these are truisms, but they are nonetheless fundamentally important as regards the Japanese option. Ever since the visit to Japan by the czarevitch Nikolay, who later became the last emperor of Russia, not a single top-level delegation of ours has traveled here; USSR ambassadors to Japan in the postwar years included two foreign trade specialists, a sinologist, a senior state apparatus official, an exiled Politburo member, two "Inturist" representatives with diplomatic experience, and not a single professional expert on Japan until May 1986. What, were there no specialists? Yes, there were but, as the classic said, "their time had not yet come" and the "sovkoloniya" lived within its parameters of stagnation which were symbolized by a marble plaque of gravestone color installed in the embassy lobby by one of the former "Intourist" chiefs with the names of Soviet ambassadors and the dates when they began and ended their duty in Japan embossed in gold. I observed the unremarkable ritual of dismantling this plaque exactly 3 years ago and, I must admit, I felt upset because this event could not have been reported in IZVESTIYA at the time, even though it deserved to be.

All this, incidentally, is nothing but symbolism. The main point is the real work whose performance, going beyond the framework of formal protocol, has started reacquiring the almost lost basic and "inherent" sign of useful labor—its creative nature. The "colony dweller's syndrome," even though signs of it can still be perceived, has certainly ceased to be the paramount guideline of thinking and behavior. Glasnost applied to diplomacy, primarily in the form of openness and accessibility, has yielded a fresh harvest of new contacts and audiences and has responded to the keen interest of the Japanese public which was, until recently, indifferent toward our country.

Don't let me be misunderstood: The main cause of these advances lies, of course, in the large-scale transformations of the entire social life being effected by our country. But we must not overlook the fact that the "durability" test of our slogans and intentions abroad is actually conducted through the embassies, and therefore the extent to which missions abroad are receptive to domestic changes back home and the conformity of specific practice in "foreign places" with Moscow's declarations play an exceptional role and are, to all intents and purposes, the litmus paper of restructuring in contacts with the outside world.

It was no accident that I emphasized the importance of the historical background to contacts with Japan. It will take colossal efforts of a consistent and long-term nature to melt the layers of hostility, mistrust, and negative ideas which have been compressed by the decades—efforts based on scrupulous observance of unity of words and deeds and precluding bias and lack of objectivity. The brunt of this hard work will have to be borne by the embassy, which "blushes" not only for itself but also for the state as a whole whenever blunders are made.

One can legitimately ask: Do they occur often, these blunders? Often enough, alas, and—as a rule—when it comes to feedback between the embassy and union departments and organizations. Just as in times past, many documents and requests from diplomats, which require prompt solution and response, disappear without a trace somewhere along the corridors of Soviet institutions, recommendations remain unanswered, and commitments are not performed. A new element has been added to all these chronic symptoms of our sloppiness recently, which I would call economic freeloading and foreign travel mania. Nowadays it is fashionable to seek partners abroad, and crowds of Soviet citizens spend either state or economically accountable foreign currency on dozens of futile visits which are not backed by economic necessity and—this is the main point—produce absolutely no results at all apart from gift packages for relatives and a topic for conversations with colleagues.

These "children of the restructuring of foreign economic ties" who travel on official business without any previous experience, without any knowledge, but with great ardor and initiative, are exceptionally active. But this activeness actually makes the serious Japanese think twice about the seriousness of our economic undertakings because Soviet visitors of this ilk have not worked out any proposals, have no knowledge of the Japanese market's specific features, and even ideas—which are the main driving force of commerce and business—are largely nonexistent. It may be paradoxical, but it is nonetheless a fact: The overwhelming majority of contracts, agreements (including joint ventures), and other deals concluded in the last few years have resulted from Japanese initiatives and Japanese suggestions.

On our side, initiative as a rule takes a different form—the composition of delegations comprising a star-studded list of names and official positions in eager response to invitations by minor organizations or private firms to visit Japan. Not a single Japanese minister or his deputy has come to the USSR at the invitation of any

Soviet foreign trade association or plant. To make up for this, Japan has seen visits by dozens of leaders of our departments and, as Japanese colleagues told me, even a visit by a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers to Tokyo at the invitation of the Mitsubishi Company is on the agenda. Can you possibly imagine, for example, Moscow's Lenin Komsomol Motor Vehicles Plant inviting Japan's prime minister on a familiarization visit for a week or so? Hardly likely, but the Japanese perceive our lack of discrimination in this regard already as a system and, in view of all this, what can be said about the prestige which we are so painstakingly trying to maintain in what we say?

Someone might object that none of this applies directly to embassy restructuring. Alas, there is a direct link in this case—there cannot be an ideal component functioning within an overall mechanism which keeps breaking down. And if we were to accept that the main guideline in a diplomat's work is the fatherland's advantage and the strengthening of the country's position in dialogue with another power, we must also accept something else: The path to success in this work lies through the harmonious combination of many factors, the most important among them being our domestic efficiency and the criteria we set for ourselves.

From a purely professional point of view, a diplomat nowadays probably finds it considerably more difficult than others because he works under pressure from two directions—internal pressure from the Foreign Ministry and external pressure multiplied by the specific features of the "country of residence." People work to the point of exhaustion—meetings, talks, analytical reports, internal debates on the elaboration of dozens of options for formulations and ideas, looking after delegations, "clipping" the local press, lectures to different audiences, interviews with newsmen, replying to letters, telephone calls, an endless stream of requests, amplifications, and so on and so forth. All this went on before as well, but at that time the switch between tasks was leisurely and pleasurable, measured and satisfactory. Nowadays the embassy's entire staff are running like hamsters on a treadmill to cope with their official duties and—can you imagine this—find it satisfying because, according to the familiar proverb, you don't get tired from work but from unnecessary fussing over work.

For the first time ever, Japanese television showed a specially made movie about the Soviet Embassy's work, for the first time ever our ambassador addressed a session of the Japanese parliament's Security Commission, for the first time ever the Consular Section embarked on regular work with compatriots who have settled in Japan for various reasons and had never received even elementary attention for decades on end... This introductory phrase—"for the first time ever"—can, fortunately, be applied to a long list of aspects of the embassy's work. One can, for example, enjoy the fact that now there is no longer any need for secrecy or for concealing the party committee behind the pseudonym of "trade union committee" or the Communist Youth League behind the tag of "physical culture organization." One can note that Soviet journalists have finally been given access to our own Soviet "diplomatic sources" and can learn the latest news about bilateral talks not from Japanese newspapers but straight from the members of USSR delegations.

These raptures may seem absurd to readers who are not familiar with the finer points of life in a "sovkoloniya," but the main absurdity lies in the fact that all these changes are difficult to achieve and are subject to reservations like "we will give it a try" or "we will have to risk it." I wanted to write about some return to normality, but then caught myself thinking that nobody actually knows the parameters of this norm. The process which has been occurring recently is rendered that much more interesting by the fact that it offers scope for quest and experiments, giving our diplomacy a chance to be not only one of the oldest professions but also a young and flexible profession, receptive to innovations.

As a matter of fact, a bright path has its beginnings in darkness, and there really is nobody else to blame for the difficulties we have made for ourselves. Take for example the problem of... ancillary premises. All the embassy's pantries, storerooms, and "dark rooms" are chockablock with tonnes of propaganda pulp which is sent to the embassy with depressing consistency, year in and year out, by large and small ideological organizations and departments—works by former Leaders [vozhd], didactic brochures about developed socialism, ebullient illustrated descriptions of our social and economic prosperity, friendship society journals which are never read by anyone, and reels of documentary movie monsters about successes in socialist competition actually shot on 16-mm film while projectors for that size of film disappeared in Japan some 20 years ago. PAL-SECAM video cassettes (even though Japan uses a different system) with voice-overs in Russian or English—which are UN languages, of course, but are nonetheless different from Japanese.

The funny point of the situation is that you cannot just get rid of these "assets"—they cannot be incinerated (could you imagine the panic that would grip Tokyo if thick smoke started pouring out of the Soviet Embassy chimneys? The Russians are destroying their diplomatic archives, people would say, and even school children know that this is done just before the outbreak of a war). They cannot be sent for recycling (for the sake of prestige if for no other reason). Finally, they cannot be shipped back home (transportation will cost a pretty penny and will put the embassy's budget in the red for years). One could produce plenty of witticisms regarding this problem, but packages stamped "Printed Matter" are still arriving to this day.

Nonetheless, and despite the "objective difficulties," as we say back home, we are changing for the better and even the Japanese are beginning to believe that our restructuring is here to stay. Bearing the Japanese pragmatism in mind, this opinion has the sound of weighty compliment and high appraisal. People in this country are beginning to understand us and this, taking historical adversity and the negative propaganda image into account, is in itself a major achievement. We have ceased evading substantive talks and we are being paid back in reciprocity, with a mood for serious contacts and substantial dialogue, which is an unquestionable success if we think back to the blind alley where Soviet-Japanese relations had wound up just 3 years ago. In the recent past, events like meetings between the two countries' foreign ministers were occurring just about once a decade, but the last 18 months alone have seen three such meetings.

Is it possible to measure the effectiveness of restructuring along the Japanese avenue in certain specific facts and figures? I addressed this question to our Ambassador Nikolay Nikolayevich Solovyev who, by way of an answer, opened one of the files on his desk and offered me a newspaper clipping with data from a sociological study recently conducted in Japan. Two figures were underlined in pencil—3 and 14 percent, representing the indicator of the Japanese people's "trust and good will" toward the USSR 3 years ago and today respectively. "It seems to me," the ambassador said, "that there is no need for any further comment. You know, we'd better talk about the work in hand; here is an idea that has been put forward...."

Perhaps I should end at this point.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Envoy Claims Laurel Briefed on Soviet ICBM's

HK2106041589 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY GLOBE in English 21 Jun 89 p 6

[By Julius Fortuna]

[Text] A top Soviet Official had told Vice President Salvador Laurel that in a war with the United States, it would take 15 to 30 minutes for Soviet nuclear missiles to reach U.S. bases in the Philippines, Ambassador Alejandro Melchor Jr. said yesterday, obviously referring to Clark and Subic and other American military facilities in Asia.

In a telex to Manila, Ambassador to Moscow Alejandro Melchor Jr. said Yuliy Vorontsov, Soviet deputy foreign minister, made this remark to Laurel in the presence of the Soviet ambassador to Manila and two other Soviet officials.

"These U.S. bases (in the Philippines) are targeted by Soviet ICBMs in case anything happens," Melchor said in the telex, recalling details of the meeting between Laurel and Vorontsov.

Melchor said the meeting was held in the Kremlin at 3:30 PM on July 12 last year when the Philippine official visited Moscow.

Melchor clarified that Vorontsov made no mention of Clark and Subic as specific targets of Soviet ICBMs in his discussion with Laurel, contrary to a June 12 report by a wire agency.

Earlier, Soviet Ambassador to Manila Oleg Sokolov told reporters that Soviet military planners have deployed those Soviet missiles purely for defense.

Although "they are not intended against the Filipino people...it is important to crush these bases so as not to have additional source of attack against Soviet territory," Melchor said in the telex, quoting Vornotsov.

Melchor quoted Vorontsov as having said that the "aim of Soviet missiles is to counter any military threat to the USSR."

Soviet Missiles poised against Asian targets, are "not stoppable, not even by SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative)," said Vorontsov, referring to the American Star Wars program.

"Defense against ICBMs is impossible since there is only between 15-30 minutes from the time the missile is launched until it hits its target," Vorontsov said, as quoted by Melchor.

Melchor said that before he filed his report to Manila on the Laurel-Vorontsov meeting, he had crosschecked his version of the meeting with several sources. He added that it can be further verified with Ambassador Sokolov.

Melchor, who was ordered to vacate his post last week, said that he has asked Acting Foreign Secretary Manuel Yan to give him sixty days to wind up his business in Moscow, but would proceed with his court action against the DFA [Department of Foreign Affairs].

Melchor also informed DFA that he will leave Moscow June 30 for medical treatment, and await for the decision of the Supreme Court.

He said that he will be out of Moscow during the visit of Foreign affairs Secretary Rual S. Manglapus, scheduled on the third week of July.

No Nuclear Arms Found on U.S. Philippines Base

HK2406044589 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1130 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] In accordance with orders by President Corazon Aquino and Defense Secretary Fidel Ramos, a group of Philippine officials conducted an inspection tour of the U.S. base at Clark air field. The American commander gave permission for the inspection tour after some Philippine officials claimed that nuclear missiles were present in U.S military facilities located in the country, in violation of the Constitution.

No nuclear missiles were found on the bases. However, as stressed by the chief of the inspection team, Brigadier General Demetrio Camua, his group found fighter bombers capable of carrying nuclear missile warheads.

Reply to Charge of Military Aid to Cambodia

BK2106024089 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Station commentator Vasiliy Fedorov reports]

[Text] In opposing Cambodian circles, a report has been disseminated according to which the Soviet Union is providing new weapons to the government led by Comrade Hun Sen. This was mainly said by a leader of the opposing side, Norodom Ranariddh, son of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. On this issue, our commentator Vasiliy Fedorov gives his views.

Now, many people are guessing whether Phnom Penh received Soviet weapons or not. I do not raise these kinds of questions because I firmly and clearly know that Phnom Penh did not receive any weapons. Our country has many times stated its support for a formula worked out by Cambodian parties according to which Cambodian parties involved in the conflict should not receive any foreign military aid after the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. It ought to be said that those who are trying to guess whether Soviet weapons have been supplied or not are mostly people who do not understand the situation in Cambodia, or, in general, those who are completely ignorant of this situation.

To my knowledge, the multitude of foreigners currently staying in Cambodia do not agree with Prince Norodom Ranariddh because his statement does not conform to the truth. As for the Cambodian Government, its view was made known a few days ago by the official news agency SPK. In its commentary, SPK said in essence that Prince Norodom Ranariddh's statement does not conform to the truth and is part of a propaganda campaign against the State of Cambodia. SPK also notes that Ranariddh's statement runs counter to the spirit of making concessions, which characterized the meeting in Jakarta between his father, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and Comrade Hun Sen. As a result of the talks, the two sides agreed to stop receiving military aid following the complete repatriation of Vietnamese troops. As people know, the repatriation of this army will be completed by 30 September this year. This is the situation.

However, I have a question I want to discuss with you, respected comrades, and I will try to provide an answer. The question is this: Is it not to cover up the military aid it is receiving from the United States that the opposing Cambodian side is striving to disseminate groundless information on the so-called Soviet weapons? In my view, this is what people would guess because Washington is actually providing military aid to the opposing Cambodian side. This is done through secret channels. Even in the U.S. Congress, the issue of increasing this aid has been discussed. According to U.S. Under Secretary of State Robert Kimmit, U.S. assistance would strengthen Sihanouk's position in negotiations on the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. However, the truth is that Vietnamese forces are being withdrawn and in any case will all be withdrawn by the end of September this year. As for the U.S. weapons, as SPK correctly noted, they are fuel added to the fire.

This is the conclusion of our commentator, Vasiliy Fedorov.

Democracy in Burma Called 'Irreversible'

BK2106133589 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Vladimir Vasilyev commentary: "Peasants and Politics in Burma"]

[Text] The voices of students, military personnel, and others which emerged on the political stage in Burma last year continue to be heard today. What then is the political role of the peasants? The question we raise here is: Are the peasants part of an active movement, or are they sitting idle? The following is the view of Vladimir Vasilyev, Soviet historian on Burma and an academician.

That question is important because Burma is one of the Southeast Asian countries where peasants form a majority of the population. According to 1988 figures, peasants represent almost 64 percent of the population. Moreover, agriculture constitutes 40 percent of the national production, and this rate is much more than the ASEAN countries. In other words, directly or indirectly, the question concerning rural areas and the peasants remains a vital issue for Burma.

Directly, the question deals with the interests and conditions of the millions of peasant families, and indirectly, with the whole country's reliance on the peasants' ability to produce. There is a population explosion in the villages of Burma, and every year there are between 600,000 to 700,000 new mouths to feed. Some 40 years ago I started studying about Burma and I can clearly remember that judging from the size of the population then, I and my colleagues thought that Burma was a small country. We had based our calculations on census data collected before World War II, and there were only about 17 million people then. Today, according to the census of 1989, there are almost 40 million people. A nation with that population can no longer be considered a small country. Likewise, the problems associated with it cannot be termed small.

Burma is at a very important crossroads in history. The period today follows the 1988 great opposition movement for democracy joined by millions of people. The pressure from that movement brought concessions from the authorities who promised to hold general elections on the basis of a multiparty democratic system and allowed political parties to officially register and campaign. It also brought about important reforms to the economy. However, the tasks are being implemented through tight control and supervision.

Among the observers studying the Burmese events of 1988 there are also people trying to downplay the extent and significance of the movement for democracy. Some are even saying that the peasants did not take part in the movement for democracy. Academics studying Burma believe that the future will provide the answers. If someone were to assert that the peasants did not take part in the opposing movement, he would be wrong. Of course, the movement cannot be compared to the second peasants uprising staged by Saya San [against the British] because the demonstration was not joined by the entire peasantry. However, peasants on the outskirts of towns did take part in the demonstrations and protests staged in the urban areas. It is quite evident that people in small towns did rise up during the demonstrations. What was the support base for such uprisings? It was the peasants around the towns.

What are the reasons which limited the role of the peasants in the anti-government movement? The peasant population is scattered over a wide area, and the daily chores of the peasants prevented them from playing an active role in politics. Moreover, compared to the people in the cities, peasants are far removed from politics. There is also one important factor. Is there any reason for peasants to oppose the government. In my view, it is not easy to answer that question.

Objectively, we have to admit that the peasants did get some privileges from the previous rulers in the post-1962 era. They were given the opportunity to engage in farming under long-term leases, there were rural development programs, and rural cooperatives played constructive roles also. There are no reasons to oppose the government on these grounds. However, there is always the other side of the coin.

After 1962 the peasants became the victims of state oppression. All important phases of the agriculture sector were placed under the monopoly of the government. All development potentials were hampered by official restrictions, directives, and signed pledges. Peasants were made to join all official organizations, to cultivate only scheduled crops, and to sell crops at cheap prices offered by the state. Restrictions were such that peasants who had excess crops could not sell them even to nearby needy villages. In other words, although peasants did get some benefits from the state, they were made to give up their rights to free economic enterprise. This later led to a lack of initiative among the peasants. These factors are certainly bound to give rise to dissent among the peasants.

In short, such dissatisfaction among the peasants as well as the urban people can only give rise to opposition to the commandism of military bureaucracy. Such a military bureaucracy obstructs the development of a country.

The difference between the peasants and the urban people in how they react to the situation is that opposition by the peasants is limited. Personally, I would say they put up an inactive opposition. But, opposition is a manifestation of dissatisfaction whether it is limited or inactive. How then will politics in Burma evolve for the peasants in the future? From the programs and aims announced by the newly emerged political parties, there are good prospects for the peasants. The aims and objectives of the majority of parties stress freedom of agriculture.

Peasants want to be free from control of both official and semi-official organizations and from the directives and restrictions of these organizations. Peasants want a just price for their crops. At the same time, my personal view is that the state should only play a role to fulfill the needs and to protect the interests of the peasants. Short-term loans should be given to peasants, and land should be given to the landless peasants and to those with limited land. Virgin land can be reclaimed for such a purpose, and this cannot be done without long-term financing by the state.

In order to develop the economy of a country like Burma, there must be a free market system. The role of the state, I believe, is also needed here in order to cope with the negative aspects and the contradictions associated with an economy that is based on a free market system. The state economic policy must be much more flexible than that practised in past decades. It would, of course, be natural for the peasants to want a government that can accomplish these tasks while administering the country. There is also one thing that one can definitely say for the peasants in Burma; that is, they will not accept the policies of years past. I believe there is nothing more true than to say that ordering the peasants and the economy to work will not suffice.

Some forces are also exploiting the innocence of the peasants, who are wary of trying anything new, in order to oppose the process of democracy taking place. But, personally, I also see the other side of the coin. And that is, no one can publicly deny the fact that Burma is in need of democratic reforms today. In other words, it means that the process of democracy is irreversible.

Vietnamese Party Delegation Visits 9-18 Jun

PM2106090589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] Under the plan for interparty ties between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] a delegation of CPV party workers headed by Nguyen

Quang Tao, deputy chief of the CPV Central Committee Foreign Relations Department, visited the Soviet Union 9 through 18 June. It familiarized itself with the CPSU's experience of international and foreign economic activity under conditions of restructuring.

The Vietnamese comrades had meetings and talks at the CPSU Central Committee International Department, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, and the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission and visited a number of joint ventures.

Near East & South Asia

Peshawar Talks on Soviet MIA's 'Unsuccessful'

PM2306112989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Pakistan: Unsuccessful Talks"]

[Text] The first meetings in Pakistan between the Soviet public delegation comprising representatives of the public [narodnyy] and coordinating committees for the liberation of Soviet servicemen imprisoned in Afghanistan and the leaders of the Afghan armed opposition have produced no immediate positive results.

None of the three leaders of the Afghan antigovernment groupings with whom the delegation members spoke on Wednesday in Peshawar have as yet agreed to hand over a single Soviet soldier. The delegation returned from Peshawar to Moscow yesterday.

'Progress' in Talks With Afghan Rebels on POW's

LD2706081189 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Soviet officials and Afghan rebel leaders have held another round of talks in Islamabad on releasing Soviet prisoners of war. Reports speak of progress being reached at the talks. The sides agreed to continue negotiations. A Soviet Embassy spokesman has said the Soviet Union will hold consultations with the government in Kabul on exchanging Soviet POW'S and the Mujahidin who were captured in the course of hostilities inside Afghanistan. Incomplete figures put the number of Soviet soldiers kept prisoners at more than 300.

6,377 Veterans of Afghan War Invalids

LD2106224189

[Editorial report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0230 GMT on 21 June broadcasts a 15-minute studio discussion involving the chairman of the all-union council of internationalist servicemen and Sergey Yepifantsev, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee. The discussion is devoted to fund raising measures to promote the release of Soviet POW's held by the Afghan opposition and to help invalid veterans of the Afghan war. Speaking of the problem of aiding such invalids in the Soviet Union, Yepifantsev says: "I don't know if this is the first time that this figure has been given in this auditorium, but at the time of the end of our war 6,377 veterans of the Afghan war were invalids. Why? Because there were 40,000 wounded and tens of thousands who had had infectious diseases, and these sufferings are actually continuing today."

Yepifantsev goes on to speak of the prevailing problems in aiding such invalids, and the discussion ends with an appeal for viewers to help.

Latest Clashes in Afghanistan Reported

PM2206134589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jun 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading: "Situation in Afghanistan"]

[Text] Kabul, 21 Jun—Personnel of the Republic of Afghanistan Ministry of State Security have suppressed renewed attempts by extremists to destabilize the situation in the Afghan capital. Seven surface-to-surface missiles, which had been prepared for launching, have been rendered harmless in a Kabul suburb. A dump has been discovered in the Shakar Darreh district directly adjacent to the capital, from which 30 mortar rounds, 15 boxes of antipersonnel mines, 160 shells for recoilless guns, and a considerable quantity of hand grenades and small arms ammunition were removed.

Afghan rebel formations are continuing to shell the city of Jalalabad with rockets and artillery. Three Afghan Army servicemen have fallen victim over the past 48 hours. Five civilians have also suffered. Counterstrikes by Jalalabad garrison troops have killed or wounded more than 100 extremists.

The BAKHTAR agency has reported fierce exchanges of fire between detachments of rebel groupings in Konduz Province over the past 24 hours. More than 60 extremists died and 40 were injured as a result of the fighting.

The Pakistani authorities are continuing to erect obstacles in the way of the return of refugees to Afghanistan, seeking to use them as "cannon fodder" in the struggle against the Afghan Government. It has become known that the inmates of Alipur refugee camp (Pakistan's Northwest frontier province) recently adopted a decision to return to the motherland. Soon afterward, the camp was surrounded by Pakistani Army subunits, which opened fire on unarmed people. Eight Afghan women died, and several people were wounded.

The Republic of Afghanistan Foreign Ministry has sent the UN good offices mission three more notes citing more than 30 instances of Pakistani violations of the provisions of the Geneva agreements.

Afghan Fighter Pilot Interviewed on Situation

PM2306085989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report by "our correspondent" A. Lukyanov: "On Course for Jalalabad"]

[Text] Mazare-e Sharif-Kabul, 21 Jun—The civilian airport of the city of Mazar-e Sharif—the capital of Balkh Province—is living a harsh military life. The first thing that is obvious is the combat aircraft: We pass between two rows of MiG and Sukhoy aircraft as if through the ranks of soldiers to get to the airport building. Although airport is too peaceful a word—the waves of war have strongly battered the air harbor of one of Afghanistan's largest cities.

A short delay in the departure of the group of Soviet, Afghan, and Western journalists for the city gave me the opportunity to make the acquaintance of Afghan military airmen who make combat flights from here to the country's hottest spot—near Jalalabad. According to the Afghan government about 19,000 people have died here on both sides during the several months of the siege of the city.

Scarcely had he left his combat vehicle before Captain Mukhibulla [name as transliterated] found himself in the center of a group of reporters who had been waiting for him. The pilot is 25 years old, although he looks far older. A thin, brave face. Sweat pours down his face. He speaks Russian quite well. He learned to fly in the Soviet Union. "From Major Artemov," he explains.

"How are your successes?" I asked the pilot.

"Target hit," was his brief reply.

This is already Captain Mukhibulla's second flight today. And on average the military airmen from Mazar-e Sharif fly five or more flights daily. Depending, of course, on the situation there near Jalalabad where, incidentally, Mukhibulla was born.

When I asked Captain Vakhid [name as transliterated], the air regiment's senior technician, about how according to some press organs in the West, Soviet and Indian pilots are fighting on the side of the government, he laughed: "We Afghans are fighting. As for the Western journalists, many of them see one thing but write something completely different in their own countries. Aircraft losses have been fewer recently, our skill has increased markedly. We have learned to avoid the 'Stingers.'"

"What do you think, when will the Afghans be able to make peace?"

"The opposition does not want peace. Our government says: Let's end the war and sit down at the conference table and discuss how we are going to live in the future. But they believe that they have the strength as long as the United States and Pakistan help the mujahidin. There is also Saudi Arabia, it is true... It supports and sends wahabites who fight us for money."

I thought that if arms deliveries from all sides end the escalation of the Afghan conflict will be halted. The war is declining. Although it is not out of the question that it will assume a new form: The contradictions within the country are too powerful for the time being—the political, socioeconomic, national, and religious interests of different strata of Afghan society are clashing everywhere and in everything. The idea of a holy war—the "jihad"—against the Soviet troops is already dead now. But the internal Afghan "jihad" directed primarily against the "infidels" in Kabul, which begun even before the April revolution, does not stop for a single day.

The talk ended. The pilot walked resolutely toward the aircraft. He was going to "work"—that is what the pilots themselves call the combat flights. Work is particularly busy near Jalalabad today. And that is the destination of the fighter-bomber soaring into the sky...

U.S. 'Dissatisfied' With Soviet-Iranian Ties

LD2606122589 Moscow World Service in English
1110 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] Many countries of the world have responded with great interest to the talks held in Moscow last week between Mikhail Gorbachev and the speaker of the Iranian parliament, 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, and to the Soviet-Iranian agreements that were reached. This is what Radio Moscow commentator Aleksandr Pogodin writes:

I'd like to deal with how Washington has reacted to the change in Soviet-Iranian relations. There have been many statements on the subject, both on the part of officials and persons who did not name themselves. Some expressed dissatisfaction with Moscow's alleged intention to upset the balance in the region in detriment to the West. Others pointed out that the Soviet Union should not have improved relations with Iran because, as a spokesman of the State Department stressed, the regime in Tehran is worth condemnation. Concern is also expressed about the delivery of Soviet weapons to Iran. So it seems that Washington would have been more pleased to see mistrust and hostility prevail in Soviet-Iranian relations, and also confrontation, on which Washington could build its imperial political plans in the region.

The USSR and Iran, however, follow a different logic. They believe that for two neighboring countries having a common border of 2.5 thousand kilometers it's only natural to have good relations and develop large scale cooperation. Besides, as it was repeatedly stressed during the visit, the building of new relations should be based on the principles of full equality and noninterference in the internal affairs of each other.

Let the Iranian revolution, said Mikhail Gorbachev, keep its values and its objectives, just like restructuring in the Soviet Union will continue to be inspired by its own values and ideas.

The principle of noninterference in the affairs of other countries is actually the key one in stabilizing international relations. So improvement in Soviet-Iranian relations on that principle only helps to normalize the situation in the region. This is in the interests of world peace and, objectively, in the interests of Western countries.

The new political course in Soviet-Iranian relations is backed up by agreements on cooperation in various fields. Washington seems to be making a big fuss about the consent of the Soviet side to cooperate with Iran in building up its defenses. But that is a normal practice in relations among countries. And the dissatisfaction of the United States seems very odd, since it itself exports weapons to all parts of the world.

What is most important about the Moscow agreements is the intention to conduct large-scale cooperation in the economic, trade, technological, industrial, and other fields. Iran's minister of economics and finances, Iravani, said Soviet assistance will help Iran cope with the energy problem, one of the most acute in the country, and the minister added that all the agreements concluded between Iran and the Soviet Union are based on the principles of good-neighborliness, mutual respect, and noninterference in the internal affairs of each other.

Details of Military Agreement With Iran Noted

JN2706152189 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 25 Jun 89 pp 1, 21

[Excerpt] Moscow—From 'Abd-al-Wahhab al-Khashshan and news agencies—Arab and Soviet sources have disclosed to AL-ITTIHAD that Moscow and Tehran last week initialled a military agreement according to which Moscow will supply Tehran with about 100 advanced tanks of those recently withdrawn from the GDR and the CSSR. Moscow also put the irreversible termination of the Iraq-Iran conflict as a condition for supplying Iran with advanced aircraft.

The sources said that during Iranian Majlis Speaker Hashemi-Rafsanjani's visit to Moscow, the two sides agreed to provide Tehran with some other modern military equipment, including a number of warships and the construction of an advanced radar network. They also agreed to train Iranian military cadres in the Soviet military academies.

The sources said it is not likely that the Soviet Union will provide Iran with MiG-29 aircraft, but it is possible for Iran to obtain advanced Soviet planes provided that it agrees to an irreversible end to its dispute with Iraq.

The sources added that Moscow informed Iraq about this and obtained its approval during the recent visit to Baghdad by Konstantin Katushev, chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations.

The sources told AL-ITTIHAD that the Soviet Union and Iran agreed to change the text of the agreement signed between the two countries during the Bolshevik revolution, which gave Moscow the right to send its military forces to Iran if it felt any danger and without consulting the Iranian side. The new agreement is called a "friendship and cooperation treaty" and is parallel to the Soviet-Iraqi treaty. [passage omitted]

Iran's Hashemi-Rafsanjani USSR Visit Viewed

Iranian Ministers Report

LD2606140589 Moscow TASS in English 1740 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Tehran June 26 TASS—Iran's Council of Ministers has held a meeting to hear reports by the ministers of foreign affairs, economic affairs and finance, and the heavy industry on results of their talks in Moscow, the newspaper JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI reported.

The ministers accompanied 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly and acting supreme commander-in-chief of the Iranian armed forces, during his official visit to the Soviet Union.

Speaking at the meeting, chaired by Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi, foreign minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati said that after the leaders of the two countries took a decision to raise the level of bilateral relations the sides discussed the foundations for cooperation and held four rounds of serious negotiations in Tehran and Moscow, during which they determined their goals and programmes.

Velayati said that the agreements reached during Hashemi-Rafsanjani's visit were a major step in developing bilateral relations.

The minister of economic affairs and finance, Muhammad Javad Iravani, who is also the Iranian co-chairman of the Soviet-Iranian standing commission for economic cooperation, described the results of the visit as highly positive.

He said that practically all the issues concerning commercial and economic cooperation between the two countries had been settled, which was reflected in appropriate documents.

The Council of Ministers approved the efforts by the Iranian delegation and passed a number of decisions related to the economic life in Iran, JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI said.

Iranian Comment Cited

PM2306145989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS reports: "Iran-USSR: Beginning of a New Stage"]

[Text] Tehran, 22 Jun—The mass media's attention is focused on the visit by 'A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of Iran's Islamic Majlis, to the USSR.

Iranian radio and television carry detailed reports from Moscow on the talks between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and 'A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani. It is emphasized that the Soviet Union and Iran are displaying sincere interest in the development of good-neighborly relations, which will have a positive influence on the situation in the region as a whole. The newspaper RESALAT notes in particular that the talks in Moscow mark the beginning of a new stage in Iranian-Soviet relations. The local press points out the great importance of the expansion of trade and economic ties, emphasizing that both sides are perfectly willing to engage in long-term bilateral cooperation. The newspaper TEHRAN TIMES writes that the exchange of opinions in Moscow has a friendly nature and touches on topical international questions, including the Near East situation and ways to settle the Afghan problem.

Abu Dhabi, 22 Jun—Iran's Foreign Minister 'A.A. Velayati emphasized that the development of friendly and good-neighborly ties with the Soviet Union is a strategic goal of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Soviet Union is our neighbor, and we intend to expand contacts with it for the sake of our national interests, he declared in an interview with the newspaper AL-BAYAN, which is published in the United Arab Emirates. In developing ties with the Soviet Union, the minister said, Iran does not strive to intimidate anyone or to exert pressure on any other countries.

Interest in Visit 'Logical'

LD2506192889 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1400 GMT 25 Jun 89

["Commentary" by Aleksiy Zlatorunskiy]

[Text] The visit by 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Iranian Majlis, to the Soviet Union and his talks with Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders attracted interest not only in the Soviet Union, but also in many other countries, including the Arab ones. I think that this interest is logical. The issue here is not only the character of the relations between the two neighboring countries, whose history goes back a long time, but also finding a preliminary new model for the relations between countries on the basis of the new political thinking. This model could be successfully applied to any region or country, because its basis is mutual respect, noninterference in internal affairs, condemnation of the use of force in international politics, and literal application of international laws and agreements.

'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, during his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, presented a number of international issues, on which the views of the Soviet and Iranian leaderships are identical or close to each other. They include international issues such as securing world peace, disarmament, removing the foreign military presence in the Indian Ocean, the right of every state to decide its own destiny, and other issues. Local issues were also mentioned, such as the stance toward Afghanistan, as a nonaligned independent state that is friendly to its neighbors, and also the issue of the Iranian-Iraqi talks on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution No 598.

As is well known, the Soviet Union has completely supported Resolution No 598 and has actively used the diplomatic and political channels for its implementation. The Soviet officials have repeatedly expressed their view that stopping the military operations between Iran and Iraq is nothing more than a first step toward settling the Iran-Iraq conflict. It is not accidental that the Soviet Union is working with all its abilities to help the peace efforts of the United Nations and its secretary general, Perez de Cuellar. It cannot be disregarded that as long as the forces of the two conflicting sides have not been withdrawn to behind the international borders and as long as the prisoners of war have not been exchanged, i.e. as long as all the obstacles in the way of signing the Iran-Iraq peace treaty have not been removed, the conflict cannot be considered over.

Mikhail Gorbachev and 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani expressed their satisfaction with the character of the Soviet-Iranian talks. In this concern, the Soviet president said: The first duty is to start the practical implementation of the agreements which have been reached, because Afghanistan is nothing but proof of the consequences of the nonimplementation of the adopted resolutions. If all sides implemented the Geneva agreement, which they signed, and respected the resolutions, which were unanimously adopted at the 43d UN General Assembly Session on Afghanistan, peace would have prevailed in that country a long time ago. Mikhail Gorbachev recalled this again in his speech at the reception in honor of the Iranian guest.

Without drawing final conclusions from the Moscow Soviet-Iranian talks, we can say that they came as conclusive proof of the value of the policy which puts general human values above anything, especially the right to guaranteed security for all countries and peoples.

Sub-Saharan Africa

'Political Solution' to Ethiopian Crisis Urged

EA2606122589 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 23 Jun 89

[(German Ustinov) commentary]

[Text] It is 1 month since the sunny day last May of political storm and thunder. Memories are fresh of 16 May, when a group of men in uniform attempted to seize power.

People are still discussing the reasons for the attempt and the subsequent results and are debating it, writes (German Ustinov), IZVESTIYA reporter in Ethiopia. Here is a summary of what he says. Investigations are currently going on in Addis Ababa and Asmera, and fresh details have emerged about the plot.

The conspiracy was initiated by Merid Negusie, chief of staff; Amha Desta, the commander of the Air Force; and Demise Bulto, the commander of the 2d Revolutionary Army in Asmera. Haile Giorgis Habte-Mariam, the Ethiopian defense minister, was killed in the first few minutes of the coup attempt for opposing the conspiracy and saying that he would not participate. Forces in Addis Ababa loyal to the government have crushed the military plot and captured the leading conspirators. Among them [words indistinct] was Fantaye Belay, the minister of industry, who earlier served as a major general in the Army. Two days later the last remnants of the opposition camps were captured by government forces in Asmera. At present a total of 146 men are under arrest in Addis Ababa and Asmera.

The security and police forces did not generally support the plot. Apart from an anti-government conspiracy by some Addis Ababa University students, the plot had no subsequent results. (German Ustinov) the IZVESTIYA reporter, says that it can be said that the present Ethiopian administration has gained complete victory. But the problems faced by the country are not yet solved and the economic situation in particular, is very difficult.

Poverty and unemployment are common. The annual per capita income is only $110 or 30 cents a day. The military dared to stage the plot because they thought that the dissatisfaction of the people would help them. I do not think that punishment and a trial in court, (German Ustinov) the IZVESTIYA reporter, writes. [sentence as heard] A complete and detailed study of the situation in the country should be carried out. On 5 June the Ethiopian National Shengo held an extraordinary session and the deputies discussed at length ways of stopping the war that has been going on for many years and of bringing peace to the region. Apart from worsening the problems of the area, draining the national wealth, and causing loss of life, the war calls for 50 percent to 70 percent of the treasury's annual expenditure.

The Shengo peace proposals gained tremendous backing both within Ethiopia and from foreign countries. Representatives of opposition parties, organizations and movements have been invited to participate in the negotiations. Some Arab countries support the National Shengo proposals, including Iraq and Syria. Most African countries, respecting the OAU charter on the inviolability of territorial integrity, say that the problems of Eritrea and Tigray should not be solved by secession but through peaceful means. General Tesfa Mariam Amha, a deputy from Eritrea, speaking to (German Ustinov) words indistinct] the details should be discussed not on the battlefield but at the negotiating table since it is a war of brothers. If the policy of a political solution does not achieve results, it will be an unrectifiable historical error.

Commentary on F.W. de Klerk European Tour

MB2206085089 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Frederik de Klerk, leader of the ruling National Party of South Africa, who in the general opinion is likely to succeed President Pieter Botha, began a tour of Europe on Tuesday. He is to visit four countries to meet with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the chancellor of Federal Germany, Helmut Kohl, Prime Minister Cavaco Silva of Portugal, and the Italian foreign minister, Giulio Andreotti. Frederik de Klerk is also expected to meet with a group of Swiss bankers and Japanese investors. In fact, the program of the tour determines many of its goals.

As the SABC notes, in Europe De Klerk will meet with those leaders who are most firmly opposed to the so-called destructive demands of the supporters of sanctions. Consequently, it is most unlikely that Frederik de Klerk will have to try to convince them that there is no need to harshen the sanctions, which might interfere with some future global changes in South Africa. This, for example, is the old stance of Margaret Thatcher. It is a different matter that the situation has changed. The changes in South Africa are so ripe that even abstract talk about their expediency is causing a strong response. And the promises given out by De Klerk, the statements of Foreign Minister Roelof Botha, the assurances of the Foreign Ministry's director general, Neil van Heerden, that the future of South Africa will offer a sharp contrast to its past, are aggravating the atmosphere.

Many regard Frederik de Klerk's tour as the last chance. What is at stake again is confidence in us, Neil van Heerden says. We have received another chance to show the world that we are sincere in our striving for peace and prosperity in the region, and we cannot afford to fail this exam. All failure will only strengthen those who want to speed up our fall. There are too many hopes pinned on Frederik de Klerk's performance as the new leader. If those hopes are not realized they will breed a serious disappointment. And Pieter Botha's future successor has left for Europe, being in a very complicated situation. Nobody understands the essence of the reforms he is talking about, and it will be formulated only after the elections in September when De Klerk does not any longer fear any criticism from either the right, or the left. And at present he is simply doomed to be cautious.

In a recent commentary on the latest African tour of Margaret Thatcher, the conservative British newspaper, DAILY TELEGRAPH, noted that in the meanwhile De Klerk has to reckon more with the pressure he is experiencing at home than the British prime minister's opinion. This is the reason why both left and right-wingers have been indignant to learn that De Klerk intends to discuss the issue of Nelson Mandela's future with Margaret Thatcher behind closed doors. What really matters is not the attitude to Mandela, but the fact that a premature formulation of the plans of the future president might have unfavorable consequences for him. And this will happen anyway, whether he intends to ensure genuine equality in South Africa, or to make some concessions to the moderate black leaders.

But Frederik de Klerk will have to raise these problems in Europe. There are manifold demands from the four leaders he is going to meet with—to lift the state of emergency, to release Nelson Mandela, and give him a chance to take part in the talks on the country's future. De Klerk's inability to meet even these minimal demands won't promise any good to South Africa's European allies either. So, despite Margaret Thatcher's unwillingness to harshen the sanctions, they will be used. There is no doubt about this. But in the meanwhile, Frederik de Klerk is certainly between the hamper and the mail. He has to make some promises in Europe and at the same time he cannot open his cards till September. But patience and hopes are also short-lived if they are fed by words alone.

Soviet-Burundian Consular Convention Signed

PM2206101489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Jun 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Strengthening Cooperation"]

[Text] The signing of a Consular Convention between the USSR and the Republic of Burundi took place at the USSR Foreign Ministry on 16 June.

The convention was signed by B.N. Chaplin, USSR deputy foreign minister, for the Soviet side, and C. Mbonimpa, minister of external relations and cooperation, for the Burundian side.

I. Nkeramihigo, Burundian ambassador to the USSR, was present at the signing of the document.

On the same day C. Mbonimpa met with Soviet and foreign journalists at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center. During my working visit to Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Government, he said, the whole range of Burundi's relations with the USSR was examined. These relations are broad. Successes are particularly marked in the sphere of cadre training and health care.

I am very satisfied with the results of my visit, which enabled me to find out better how restructuring is developing in the USSR, and these great changes in Soviet people's lives make a profound impression, the minister went on. Assessing our country's position in the international arena, he stressed its constructive contribution to the cause of strengthening universal peace and disarmament and spoke highly of Soviet policy in Africa and in the south of that continent.

On 17 June, at the end of his visit to the USSR, C. Mbonimpa left Moscow.

Lukyanov Welcomes New Tanzanian Ambassador

PM2206152189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Jun 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Presentation of Credentials"]

[Text] William Lucas Mbago, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United Republic of Tanzania, presented his credentials to A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, in the Kremlin on 21 June.

Highly appraising Soviet-Tanzanian relations, W.L. Mbago expressed the sincere gratitude of the Government of Tanzania for the Soviet Union's assistance in the cause of its national development. He said that people in Tanzania follow with great interest and understanding the processes of socialist and revolutionary renewal which are under way in the USSR and the implementation of the policy of restructuring and glasnost, and they wish the USSR success along this road. The ambassador noted the positive impact of Soviet peace initiatives on the international situation and expressed gratitude for the Soviet Union's support for national liberation movements in Africa and for the efforts of African peoples aimed at the complete elimination of all forms of racism from that continent.

Welcoming the Tanzanian ambassador on behalf of the Presidium and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, A.I. Lukyanov emphasized the friendly nature of the relations which exist between the USSR and the United Republic of Tanzania, the mutual understanding and collaboration of the two countries in the international arena, and Tanzania's constructive role in peace matters. In the context of the situation in the south of the African continent and the process of decolonization in

Namibia it was noted that, whatever turn events may take, it is important for all sides to show restraint and political responsibility. The USSR for its part will continue to consistently pursue a policy aimed at ensuring genuine independence for Namibia, peace and stability in the region, and solidarity and support for "Frontline" states and national liberation forces in southern Africa in their struggle for the elimination of apartheid, which is the root cause of tension in that part of the world.

After the presentation of credentials and an exchange of speeches, A.I. Lukyanov and W.L. Mbago had a friendly conversation.

Sierra Leone Envoy Presents Credentials

PM2306090189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jun 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Presentation of Credentials"]

[Text] Olu William Harding, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Sierra Leone, presented his credentials to A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, in the Kremlin 21 June.

For more than 25 years, O.W. Harding noted, our cooperation has been developing on the basis of mutual trust and respect and spreading to various spheres of activity. Both our countries are committed to the principles of peace, respect for national independence, territorial integrity, and noninterference in the internal affairs of sovereign states. The period of restructuring and glasnost which the Soviet Union is currently experiencing is not just characterized by a comprehensive renewal of society for the sake of enhancing the people's living standards, but also by the pronounced humanitarian thrust of its foreign policy course whose objective is the achievement of universal peace.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the Presidium and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, A.I. Lukyanov noted that people in the Soviet Union see no impediments to the further development of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Sierra Leone. The closeness of their approaches to the key problems of the present and their accumulated experience constitute a good basis for the deepening of these relations on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual advantage. The ambassador's attention was drawn to the recent major Soviet foreign policy initiatives. The USSR reaffirmed its readiness to contribute within its capabilities to the quest for solutions to acute political and socioeconomic problems facing African states at the current stage of development.

After the presentation of credentials and an exchange of speeches, a conversation took place between A.I. Lukyanov and O.W. Harding.

East Europe

Gorbachev Congratulates Hungarian Party Chairman

LD2606171189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1658 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jun (TASS) - Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, cordially congratulated Rezso Nyers on his election to the post of chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Mikhail Gorbachev expressed the conviction that comradely cooperation between the two parties will continue to serve the renewal of socialism, the development of friendship, mutual understanding and close relations between the Soviet Union and Hungary.

Hungarian Anti-Soviet Sentiment Has No Solid Basis

LD2106225789 Moscow TASS in English 2151 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest June 22 TASS—The Hungarian news agency MTI circulated on Wednesday an interview given by Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, in connection with the reburial of Imre Nagy and his associates that took place on June 16, 1989.

"Hungary's further advance requires patience and restraint", he said. "Exclamatory phrases that cause fear should be avoided. It is necessary to concentrate efforts on tasks at hand and to be oriented to future. But these tendencies are not suited by the fact that several persons took advantage of the reburial ceremony for extremist anti-communist and anti-Soviet statements. This caused, also within Hungary, understandable emotions whose consequences, however, are unpredictable, and served as a pretext for expressions of disapproval by those outside the country who have a negative attitude to our historic experiment."

In connection with a demonstration held outside the building of the USSR Embassy in Hungary the day before the ceremony and with anti-Soviet statements on the day of the reburial, the head of the Hungarian Government expressed the confidence that these manifestations reflect the opinion of a very narrow minority in today's heterogenous Hungarian society and do not have a solid basis.

"Those who make no distinction between the present Soviet policy of reforms and the great power Soviet policy of the 50's utterly lack historic knowledge and a sense of political reality", Miklos Nemeth said.

He said the political reforms being implemented in the Soviet Union serve as a necessary international condition so that the striving for creating democratic socialism be crowned with success. "I am convinced that good relations between the Soviet Union and Hungary have a solid foundation which cannot be shaken by irresponsible statements. Good Hungarian-Soviet relations are a condition for building democratic socialist society renewed under the signboard of national features. Any step that might worsen Hungarian-Soviet relations contradicts our national interests", the head of the Hungarian government said.

"Our openness, our ties with the West that have been developing rapidly of late also rest on a durable basis of stable Hungarian-Soviet relations. Advancing along this road we intend in a similar spirit to continue the development of our cooperation with other neighbour countries. We would like to have a fuller knowledge of each other's aspirations and intentions which is the best guarantee against possible misunderstanding. Better mutual knowledge of each other and mutual tolerance are to the benefit of us all", Nemeth said.

"Hungary's fundamental interests are served by having stable relations with neighbour countries and care for their constant development. Such relations have a beneficial effect on our internal development, too. But this is not suited either by extreme statements in Hungary or by statements prepared in advance that instigate unhealthy attitudes. The country's leadership and sound public opinion both distance themselves from political demagogy", the chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers said.

Honecker, Momper Discuss German States Relations

PM2106104789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by own correspondent Ye. Korolev: "GDR-West Berlin: Rapprochement of Positions"]

[Text] Berlin—A meeting has taken place in the GDR capital, Berlin, between E. Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and W. Momper, ruling mayor of West Berlin and chairman of the West Berlin Social Democrats.

During the conversation which took place there was a discussion of topical international problems and questions of relations between the two German states and the further development of cooperation between the GDR Government and the West Berlin Senate.

E. Honecker and W. Momper expressed the certainty that as a result of the meetings between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and FRG Chancellor H. Kohl, conditions have been created promoting the further improvement of the situation in Europe.

E. Honecker stated that the GDR will continue to view the improvement of the situation surrounding West Berlin and the development of good-neighborliness as an inalienable element of the consolidation of peace in central Europe. He expressed himself in favor of involving West Berlin in the process of all-European cooperation and stressed that the GDR will take part in international events in West Berlin with a consideration for its own interests.

W. Momper noted the importance of West Berlin for the process of detente and cooperation. He also announced that the Senate will seek to hold events within the framework of the Helsinki process in West Berlin.

The interlocutors noted that to pursue a successful policy it is necessary to respect the realities which exist on German soil and particularly to unconditionally observe and make full use of the four-sided agreement and to be ready for mutual understanding with a consideration for known differences in viewpoints.

The ruling mayor set forth the Senate's ideas on West Berlin's role in East-West relations, noting that the city can find its future only within the framework of a European peaceful order. He stressed here that it is not a case of changing borders in Europe but of ridding existing borders of their divisive functions. E. Honecker noted in this connection that the inviolability of borders and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe within their present borders is a fundamental condition for preserving peace.

The unanimous opinion was also voiced that the policy of peace and detente is a prerequisite for the development of good-neighborliness in Europe. E. Honecker and W. Momper expressed their conviction that it is essential to continue efforts at all levels toward achieving disarmament.

During the discussion of bilateral relations the two politicians expressed satisfaction at the progress which has been achieved, particularly in the development of economic relations and in the field of transport, environmental protection, cultural contacts, and organized tourism.

At a press conference held in West Berlin W. Momper stressed that his meeting with E. Honecker attests to the further stabilization of relations between the two German states, including West Berlin.

W. Momper considers the achievement of agreements on visits by West Berlin inhabitants to the GDR capital and the development of tourism on the republic's territory to be an important result of the talks with E. Honecker. This, W. Momper said, is a great step toward normalizing the life of the West Berlin population.

GDR, PRC Foreign Ministers' Talks Reported

PM2106111989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jun 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Ministers' Meeting"]

[Text] Berlin, 13 Jun—Despite resistance from certain circles, the shift away from confrontation toward detente must become irreversible. The GDR and China will continue to make their active contribution to improving the international situation, GDR Foreign Minister O. Fischer and PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen declared during a meeting held here. They condemned the recent attempts by opponents of detente to destabilize socialism's position.

The sides noted the need to resume the Soviet-U.S. talks on strategic and space arms. They pointed to the urgent need to draw up and conclude an international convention on the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons.

O. Fischer emphasized that the states united in the Warsaw Pact Organization advocate realizing the unified goal of strengthening peace and ensuring equal security for all. The fact that NATO continues to adhere to the doctrine of "deterrence" and insists on plans to modernize nuclear and conventional weapons, the minister pointed out, is slowing down the pace of disarmament.

Qian Qichen reported on the efforts by the CPC and the PRC Government to normalize the situation and further build socialism in the country.

GDR Criticizes FRG Reunification 'Campaign'

PM2006131989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Special Responsibility"]

[Text] Berlin, 18 Jun—A commentary broadcast on GDR television and published in all the republic's central newspapers points to the contradictory and inconsistent nature of FRG policy on questions of developing relations with the GDR.

Chancellor Kohl's signature on the Soviet-West German joint statement, which points to the right of all peoples and states to freely determine their own destiny, to choose their political and social system, and to respect the peoples' right to self-determination, had not yet had time to dry before West German politicians and journalists once again mounted a noisy campaign for so-called "reunification," the commentary states.

The existing borders are once again being called into question, the question of curtailing socialism in the GDR is being inflated, and the old slogans of the "cold war" times are being dragged out into the spotlight.

Much has already been said on the subject of "self-determination and the Germans." It is an open secret that the FRG came into being as a result of the split in Germany, which was implemented by the Western powers and by internal reactionary forces which scorned the German people's right to self-determination. But the Germans to the east of the Elbe, realizing the right to self-determination, founded a socialist state free from capitalist exploitation.

The existence of two German states is a stabilizing factor for peace in Europe. Their right to self-determination is the basis of peaceful interstate relations. Any interference in the other side's internal affairs is a violation of this unshakable right and harms the cause of peace.

The Bonn government, the commentary goes on to emphasize, acknowledged that the unshakable nature of borders and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all Europe's states how they were formed as a result of the postwar system are a very important condition of peace. It pledged to build relations with the GDR on the basis of equal rights, regardless of the existing differences of opinion on questions of principle.

Someone might like or dislike the realities. But to try to change them means reopening old wounds and creating new dangers. All Germans, regardless of whether they live on the Oder, the Elbe, or the Rhine, have a common duty—war must not stem again from German soil. And both German states bear special responsibility for peace in Europe, the commentary emphasizes.

West Europe

Turkey's Yilmaz, Envoy Discuss Bulgarian Turks

TA2106174889 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The Bulgarian and Afghanistan ambassadors were not invited to the meeting organized by Prime Minister Ozal with the foreign ambassadors in Ankara. The ambassadors of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR did not participate in the meeting.

Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz later invited Soviet Ambassador Albert Chernyshev to the ministry and conferred with him for some time. It has been learned that they discussed only the issue of the Bulgarian Turks. After this meeting, Chernyshev left for Moscow.

Turkish Spokesman Confirms Shevardnadze Visit

TA2106175889 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1555 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Ankara (A.A)—[Passage omitted] Foreign Ministry spokesman Inal Batu said at his weekly news conference that it was not true that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's planned visit to Turkey has been cancelled. He added that work on fixing the date for Shevardnadze's visit was still in progress. Batu also announced that Turkish Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz will pay an official visit to Syria in the near future.

Soviet Ambassador Welcomes Talks on Cyprus Issue

NC2006200289 Nicosia Television Service in Greek 1730 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] The Soviet Union warmly supports the UN secretary general's mission of good offices on the Cyprus issue and is willing to assist in any way it can. At the same time, it is bringing pressure to bear to include the Cyprus issue in the talks with the United States on regional problems. The Soviet Union's position was reiterated by Soviet Ambassador in Nicosia Yuriy Fokin at a news conference today for foreign correspondents in Cyprus. He stressed that the Soviet permanent representative at the United Nations is in regular contact with the UN secretary general on the Cyprus issue. The Soviet Union, he added, is willing to assist in any way it can, individually, within the framework of the Security Council, or through the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. Anything on these lines will have our support, he said.

Regarding the inter-Cypriot dialogue, Yuriy Fokin said that his country warmly supports the talks and is trying to convince both sides that patience and wisdom are required to achieve a positive result. He also said that the poposals submitted by the Soviet Union in 1986 for the solution of the Cyprus issue, which provide for an international conference under the auspices of the UN secretary general on its international aspects, still stand. He added that the Soviet Union is ready to place any other proposal from another side on the negotiating table for discussion.

The Soviet ambassador stated that his country does not have any major economic or strategic interest in Cyprus, but has other interests, especially those related to the Middle East. In this context, he added, the Cyprus issue may serve as an example. It may also put slight pressure on the Middle East situation for a solution. Yuriy Fokin said that it is possible that the Cyprus issue will be discussed in the near future at one of the regular meetings of the superpowers. Unfortunately, he concluded, the world situation is such that no major international issue can be settled without the participation of the two superpowers.

Allies Consider Curb on Troops' Spending in GDR

PM2106104389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy dispatch: "Shopping in the GDR Capital"]

[Text] Berlin—It has become known here that the command of the U.S. military contingent in West Berlin is studying the question of introducing restrictions on purchases made by U.S. soldiers in the GDR capital. U.S. Administration spokesman Walter Payers [name as transliterated] declared that the command is now studying the appropriate draft document. It is assumed that it will set a limit of 700 GDR marks per person on goods allowed to be bought in Berlin.

Common rules regulating such trips have hitherto applied to the 12,500 U.S., British, and French servicemen stationed in West Berlin. They recommend the purchase of only goods for personal use and souvenirs. It is not recommended to purchase goods with whose supplies the GDR is experiencing certain complications. Advice is given to refrain from the acquisition of children's clothing and foodstuffs (for which, by the way, the state allocates subsidies running into millions). But there are no relevant recommendations governing visits to restaurants and cafes or the acquisition of chinaware, crystal, photographic cameras, camping tents, clocks and watches, children's toys, or some other goods made in the GDR. Shopping trips by allied soldiers in Berlin produce a negative reaction among the local population, since they result in the free exportation of many goods whose export from the GDR is prohibited. Under the prevailing situation, servicemen from allied forces are subject to virtually no control by GDR border guards and often arrive in the GDR capital by the busload.

These trips have become exceptionally advantageous from the financial viewpoint. Officers and enlisted men from West Berlin can carry any amount of GDR marks without any control. The official rate of exchange between the GDR mark and the FRG Deutschemark is 1 to 1. But private exchange bureaus in West Berlin charge DM13 for M100 and offer only DM10.5 in exchange for M100. In this way, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes, soldiers from the allied forces pay only $15 for a quilt worth M160, while a beef steak worth M13 in a good restaurant costs them no more than a sausage bought from a street vendor in West Berlin.

Latin America & Caribbean

Shevardnadze Receives Costa Rican Official

LD2606175989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1614 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jun (TASS)—Today Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR foreign minister, received Carlos Rivera Bianchini, special representative of the president of Costa Rica, deputy foreign minister, who is in Moscow.

Carlos Rivera conveyed a verbal message from Oscar Arias Sanchez, president of the Republic of Costa Rica, to Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In the course of the conversation, an exchange of opinions took place on questions of mutual interest. Special attention was paid to the problem of a political settlement in Central America. The progress that has been achieved in unblocking the conflict was noted, and the need to create favorable external conditions for the implementation of the Guatemala and El Salvador accords which provide a good basis for a settlement, and the desirability of the participation of the United Nations and the Organization of American States in this process was stressed. Mutual agreement was also expressed on the fact that all sides in the conflict should act in a spirit of realism and find compromise solutions guaranteeing a solution of the existing problems, and that implementation of the accords of the states of Central America is at the present time a central trend in the establishment of peace in the region.

Having noted the key role of the actions of the Central Americans themselves regarding the settlement of the conflict situation, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed that the Soviet Union is prepared, for its part, to assist these efforts in the future as well, including in the context of implementing measures aimed at reducing tension and boosting trust among the countries of the region, at transforming Central America into a zone free of foreign military presence and of the existence of far too many weapons.

The guest stated that Costa Rica has always spoken in favor of dialogue as the only possible path to a settlement of the Central American conflict and has rejected attempts at a military solution of the region's problems. Time has confirmed the correctness of this approach.

The sides express the mutual belief in the need to continue and deepen the dialogue between the USSR and Costa Rica regarding the widest spectrum of issues in the interests of peace, international and regional security.

Taking part in the conversation were Enrique Obregon Valverde, ambassador of the republic of Costa Rica to the USSR, and Yuriy Pavlov, head of the Latin American Countries Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Cuba Reports on Former Officials' Drugs Smuggling

PM2606151389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jun 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS article: "Article in GRANMA"]

[Text] Havana, 23 Jun—GRANMA, the official organ of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC], has published an editorial article citing numerous facts that expose the involvement of a group of former Cuban officials arrested mid-June this year in the international drugs trade. They include Divisional General Arnaldo Ochoa and the brothers Patricio and Antonio de la Guardia, staffers at the Ministry of the Interior. The article notes that, carrying out a promise to inform the people and the international public of all details relating to this drugs smuggling case—which is currently being closely investigated—the PCC leadership and investigators from the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior have given GRANMA detailed information. The newspaper stresses that the unmasking of the criminals will not weaken the Cuban revolution but, on the contrary, will reaffirm its genuinely popular nature and the purity of its ideals and goals.

The article points out that in 1986 General Ochoa established contact through an aide with drugs smugglers from the so-called "Medellin Cartel."

The smugglers' activities were curtailed after the arrest of Ochoa, his aide, Captain Jorge Martinez, and the De la Guardia brothers, GRANMA writes. They were accused of illegal dealing, corruption, and loose morals. Their involvement in the drugs trade only became known a few hours after their arrest, when suspicious documents were discovered in Martinez' home.

On the instructions of F. Castro, the Ministry of the Interior has embarked on a thorough investigation, as a result of which it has already been established that in all the A. de la Guardia group helped to ship around 6 tonnes of cocaine in return for $3.4 million. GRANMA resolutely refutes the defendants' claims that they were allegedly guided by state interests.

For the first time, the article goes on to state, Cuban officials have been involved in drugs smuggling. For many years Cuba has unswervingly carried out its international commitments in the fight against drugs. Dozens of ships and planes have been detained on its territory for drugs smuggling, and hundreds of smugglers have been sentenced for such activities.

The newspaper notes that the editorial article reflects the opinion of F. Castro, the PCC Central Committee, the Revolutionary Armed Forces, and the republic's Ministry of the Interior.

Political & Social

Supreme Soviet 26 Jun Proceedings Reported

Chambers Hold Separate Sittings

PM2706122589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Jun 89 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report: "At First Session of USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet resumed its work in the USSR Supreme Soviet Hall of Sessions in Moscow 26 June.

Separate sittings of the chambers were held.

The sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities was opened by R.N. Nishanov, the chamber's chairman.

A proposal to elect Deputy B.I. Oleynik, poet and secretary of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Writers Union Board, as deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities was submitted for examination by deputies.

The following deputies took part in the discussion of the candidacy of B.I. Oleynik and the candidacy of Deputy Ye.A. Gayer, put forward by deputies as an alternative: S.Y. Kudarauskas, V.S. Shevchenko, M.M. Safin, N.N. Engver, T.K. Ismailov, V.N. Zubkov, V.V. Kosygin, P.A. Azizbekova, and others.

Deputy B.I. Oleynik answered deputies' questions.

Speaking about his stance specifically with respect to the People's Front, the speaker emphasized that this organization could act as a unifying force in ensuring the success of restructuring. The deputy expressed himself in favor of such a People's Front.

Deputies voted to elect B.I. Oleynik as deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities.

The agenda was approved. It included the examination of a whole range of draft laws which ensue from the stipulations of the USSR Constitution and the instructions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Questions pertaining to current legislation, the ratification of international treaties, and other questions were also submitted for discussion.

Deputies V.N. Zubkov, G.M. Magomedov, A.A. Likhanov, N.A. Kostishin, V.S. Podziruk, N.V. Ivanov, and others submitted proposals and raised questions connected with the agenda.

Answering the deputies' questions, A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, emphasized that the draft laws proposed in the agenda had been widely discussed by the public. However, some of them will have to be returned to commissions for further discussion and finalization. Laws have to be examined in Leninist fashion: measured seven times before they are passed. Draft laws must not be crossed off the agenda; they have to be discussed and published in their first reading.

The speaker announced that in accordance with the Constitution the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is not elected but formed from deputies holding specific posts. The new presidium met for its first sitting 24 June to discuss the agenda proposed today. It is up to the deputies to adopt the submitted draft laws or to send them back for reworking. The agenda is not final; it can be altered if necessary. The presidium will no longer issue legislative norms; this function passes wholly and entirely to the Supreme Soviet.

During the past week, the speaker noted, committees and standing commissions have performed very important work which has been highly assessed by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He then dwelt on the progress in the elaboration of a number of draft laws. In particular, the speaker noted, it is necessary to discuss during the current session, at least in the first reading, the draft law on pensions. It is possible, to begin with, to approve just the section which relates to raising minimum pensions.

The session's order of proceedings was adopted. It was decided to discuss the questions in the order in which they feature on the session's agenda. Draft laws will be discussed as a rule in two readings. After the first reading it is planned to finalize the drafts in the appropriate USSR Supreme Soviet committees and the chambers' standing commissions and to publish them in the press. Reports on the questions featuring on the agenda will be heard at joint sittings of the chambers, and the discussion of questions will take place by decision of the chambers both at separate or joint sittings of the Soviet of Nationalities and the Soviet of the Union.

It has been decided that one day a week—Friday—will be entirely reserved for committee and commission work.

The deputies embarked on the examination of the question of approving the composition of Soviet of Nationalities commissions and USSR Supreme Soviet committees.

The chairman explained that at the previous sitting standing commissions of the Soviet of Nationalities were formed and their chairmen elected. Proposals on the composition of the commissions were in the deputies' possession. It was decided that their composition would be finalized by the chamber's chairman with the participation of the commissions' chairmen and agreed with the deputies and then submitted for confirmation.

The composition of the Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations was approved unanimously.

Taking account of deputies's proposals, the composition of the Commission for Questions of the Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Oblasts and Okrugs was approved.

The Commission for Consumer Goods, Trade, and Municipal, Consumer, and Other Services to the Population, and the Commission for Questions of the Development of Culture, Language, National and International Traditions, and Protection of the Historical Heritage were also approved.

The chamber then moved on to confirm the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet committees.

At the last joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, the chairman explained, it was agreed that the chambers' chairmen, together with the committees' chairmen, and bearing in mind the opinion of the deputies themselves, would finalize the proposals on the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet committees and submit them for examination by each chamber. These proposals are in the deputies' possession.

The composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee was approved.

The composition of the Committee for Defense and State Security Questions was submitted for examination by the chamber.

A lively discussion ensued, in which the following deputies took part: Ya.Ya. Peters, K.S. Khallik, M.G. Vulfson, V.D. Romanenko, V.L. Lapygin, and others.

During the debate it was proposed that representatives of all union republics be included in the composition of the Committee for Defense and State Security Questions. This was motivated by the argument that the absence of deputies of any union republic might be interpreted as an expression of distrust toward this republic.

Chairman R.N. Nishanov noted in this context that some of the proposals sound as if somebody were foisting something off on someone, or as if someone were defending something. It is necessary to give up this kind of stance. We have all been elected by the people; we are accountable to our voters and our republics. If there are proposals, they must be put forward and discussed calmly. Political formulations should be avoided. Who is displaying distrust toward whom? This is a totally wrong approach.

The chairman called on everyone to engage in a constructive, calm discussion. Nobody, he stressed, is planning to pin labels on anyone, and nobody wants to exclude anyone from the discussion of important questions relating to a specific republic or the Union as a whole.

Taking into account the proposals submitted by the speakers, the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions was approved. It was decided to submit the question of the inclusion of representatives of the Kazakh and Lithuanian SSR's in the composition of the committee for examination by the Soviet of the Union.

It was proposed to discuss the composition of the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order.

Deputies A.L. Plotnikov, R.Sh. Tabukashvili, V.S. Kabakov, and others submitted proposals and observations.

The composition of the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order was approved unanimously.

After discussion by the chamber, the composition of the Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management; the Committee for Economic Reform Questions; the Committee for Agrarian Questions and Food; the Committee for Construction and Architecture Questions; the Committee for Science, Public Education, Culture, and Upbringing; the Committee for the Protection of the People's Health; the Committee for the Affairs of Women and of Family, Mother, and Child Protection; the Committee for the Affairs of Veterans and Invalids; the Youth Affairs Committee; the Committee for Questions of Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources; and the Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals was approved.

The following deputies took part in the discussion of the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet committees: Yu.A. Ryzhov, U.Sh. Orozova, B.R. Kariyeva, A.M. Umerenkov, and others.

With that the sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities ended.

A sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union took place in the evening.

The chamber's Chairman Ye.M. Primakov submitted the proposal to elect Deputy A.A. Mokanu, the present chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, as deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union. Describing A.A. Mokanu, the chairman noted his great experience of life and the good school through which the deputy has passed while holding various responsible posts in the Moldavian SSR and as deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

A.A. Mokanu was given the floor to answer deputies' questions.

In particular, the deputy dwelt in detail on his contribution to the struggle for the protection of the environment in Moldavia. A number of questions dealt with our country's international ties, including parliamentary ties. Among other points, A.A. Mokanu expressed the opinion that after meetings with other countries' leaders, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet should report first of all to the Supreme Soviet.

The deputy believes that the composition of parliamentary delegations and the objectives of their foreign trips should also be agreed with the Supreme Soviet.

Answering a question as to why public demonstrations are so widespread in Moldavia, the deputy noted that the same processes that are taking place in the Soviet Union as a whole are also taking place in Moldavia. Possibly to some extent in certain areas they are more pronounced. For instance, questions pertaining to language problems. The point is that the Moldavian language has practically disappeared from all spheres of communication in the republic during the past period of more than 40 years. It has disappeared from official organs and daily life.

Naturally, language is the repository of culture. And culture is history. Without language there is no culture, without culture there is no history, and without history there is no people. Therefore Moldavia's intelligentsia is currently actively raising the language problems. What are they, specifically? The problem of bestowing on the Moldavian language the status of a state language. Some people believe that the republic leadership is dragging its feet with respect to this question. This has given rise to a certain amount of friction.

A number of questions concerned acute social problems, including grants for families with many children. I believe, the deputy stated, that the existing law must be changed. The help which women with many children receive is miserly. One point of my program is to ease the fate of women in our country.

The question followed: If you become deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union, what are your specific proposals for resolving the number one question in the food program—keeping the peasant on the land? Do you have any alternative specific proposal?

I have no alternative, the deputy said. I think that if we fulfill completely all decisions adopted at the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum, then everything will be normal.

A.A. Mokanu was elected deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme SOviet's Soviet of the Union by a majority of votes.

The deputies turned to an examination of the session's agenda. Ye.M. Primakov, who was in the chair, gave the deputies some explanations. The inclusion of a particular draft law on the agenda, he said, in no way means that this session will accept the draft as a law. All laws must be passed after the relevant examination in committees and commissions, and as a rule discussed in two readings at the session. After the first reading the draft's publication in the press is envisaged. The session's proposed agenda is not definitive because it does not exhaust all questions which will be examined at the session. Draft laws can be submitted for a first reading.

In compiling this agenda, the chairman noted, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium proceeded from the need to approve a government at this session and to examine a number of draft laws which have either already been approved in some way, are known as a result of publication, or should be discussed on a priority basis on instructions from the congress.

Deputy F.M. Burlatskiy pointed out that the drafts of a number of laws generated by the USSR Ministry of Justice are extraordinarily incomplete. They were prepared, in the speaker's opinion, without the participation of the public. The speaker objected to the inclusion on the agenda of those laws which have not previously been discussed in committees or commissions. Touching on laws relating to human rights, the deputy expressed himself against their hasty approval.

Deputies A.A. Pavliy, N.D. Tutov, I.M. Bogdanov, V.N. Stepanov, Yu.A. Bogomolov, Yu.N. Shcherbak, Ye.P. Velikhov, V.V. Bushuyev, K.D. Lubenchenko, B.V. Miroshin, S.N. Khadzhiyev, and others also made comments and proposals on the agenda and several questions of procedure. In particular they raised questions of the rights and powers of USSR people's deputies, the practice of keeping deputies informed, the conditions of their activity, the procedure for preparing draft laws, and so forth. Deputy V.A. Yarin stressed that the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet session had both said a lot about all republics but little or almost nothing had been said about the fate of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. Nor are the deputies mentioning it today. It is a pity that the republic's leadership is keeping silent while failing to effect feedback with voters and the people. I am afraid, the deputy said, that Russia will again be in the position of a Cinderella with outstretched hand. For 70 years it has been in this position, rendering aid to many republics and now finding itself in a worse situation than they.

Answering several specific questions raised by the deputies, the chairman reported that an information service is being created in the USSR Supreme Soviet. In the building on the Novyy Arbat every Supreme Soviet member will have his own premises, and the information service's systems will be developed there. We are now reaching agreement with the Lenin Library for a special hall to be allocated to deputies. Some 2 weeks before their discussion each deputy will unfailingly have all draft laws.

A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, gave deputies several explanations regarding the question under discussion.

Deputy M.A. Bocharov, who spoke in the debates, mentioned unresolved problems which are impeding the activity of the people's elected representatives, and mentioned their mutual relations with the Supreme Soviet apparatus. In particular he asked: Why must the apparatus be in the Supreme Soviet building while the deputies, committees, and commissions are in the building on Kalinin Avenue? In this situation deputies will come to the apparatus and the apparatus will not go to them. The speaker expressed himself in favor of the Supreme Soviet apparatus moving to Kalinin Avenue.

The chairman suggested voting for the agenda submitted on behalf of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. He stressed that all chairman of committees and commissions had taken part in the discussion of questions, and their work cannot be called merely formal. It is a case not of the adoption of documents but of beginning the discussion of questions and giving them impetus.

The agenda was adopted by a majority of votes. After agreement with the Soviet of Nationalities, it was proposed that it should additionally include the question of adopting a law on the passage of draft laws.

The procedure for the session's work was also adopted.

The deputies embarked on an examination of the first question on the agenda connected with the approval of the composition of the commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The chamber approved the composition of the Planning, Budget, and Financial Commission; the Commission for Questions of the Development of Industry, Energy, Equipment, and Technology; the Commission for Questions of Transport, Communications, and Information Science; and the Commission for Questions of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy.

It was proposed that the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet committees be approved.

The chamber approved the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs by a vote.

Lively debates developed during the discussion of the composition of the Committee for Questions of Defense and State Security. Deputies V.V. Antanaytis, V.A. Volkov, D.G. Smirnov, N.D. Tutov, K.A. Kharchenko, and others took part in the discussion. With a consideration for the proposals which had come from deputies of the Soviet of Nationalities and the Soviet of the Union, the chamber approved the composition of the Committee for Questions of Defense and State Security, including in it representatives from the Kazakh and Lithuanian union republics. It also approved the composition of the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order; the Committee for Questions of the Work of the Soviets of People's Deputies and the Development of Management and Self-Management; the Committee for Questions of Economic Reform; the Committee for Agrarian Questions and Food; the Committee for Questions of Construction and Architecture; the Committee for Science, Public Education, Culture and Upbringing; the Committee for Women's Affairs and Family, Mother, and Child Protection; the Committee for the Affairs of Veterans and Invalids; the Committee for Youth Affairs; the Committee For Questions of the Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources; and the Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals.

All USSR Supreme Soviet committees were thus elected.

With that the Soviet of the Union's sitting ended.

On 27 June the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will continue its work at a joint sitting of both chambers.

Soviet of Union Approves Agenda

LD2606163489 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 26 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The new Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union, following the other chamber—the Council of Nationalities, approved the full-time Soviet parliament's agenda for the current session. It is as follows:

1. Confirmation of the make-up of the Supreme Soviet committees and the commissions of its chambers.

2. Government formation.

3. Election of the People's Control Committee.

4. Election of the Supreme Court.

5. Confirmation of the Collegium of the National Prosecutor's Office.

6. Confirmation of the Collegium of the State Arbitration Service.

7. The issue of organizing work to fulfil instructions given to the Supreme Soviet by the Congress of People's Deputies.

8. The issue of endorsing decrees of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

9. The issue of a draft law on procedures for publishing and enacting laws and other acts adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet and their bodies.

10. The issue of a draft law on product quality and protection for consumers' rights.

11. The issue of a draft law on inventions and innovation.

12. The issue of fundamentals of the legislation of the USSR and constituent republics on the court system and a national law on the status of judges.

13. The issue of a draft law on changing taxation procedures and rates with regard to the population.

14. The issue of a draft law on procedures for the reimbursement to people's deputies of expenses involved in their activity as deputies.

15. The issue of a draft law on citizen associations.

16. The issue of draft fundamentals of the criminal legislation of the USSR and constituent republics and national laws on criminal responsibility for some crimes.

17. The issue of a draft law on the press and other mass media.

18. The issue of a draft law on the management of the economy and the social sphere in constituent republics on the basis of broadening their sovereign rights, self-administration and self-financing and a draft law on local self-government and local economies (first reading).

19. The issue of a draft law on the rights of trade unions in the USSR (first reading).

20. The issue of a draft law on the young and state youth policy (first reading).

21. The issue of a draft law on freedom of conscience and religious organisations (first reading).

The council of the Union decided to add yet another point—the drafting of a bill on procedures for the adoption of laws in the Supreme Soviet—to the agenda, but since the latter must be endorsed by both parliamentary chambers the point can be considered included only after it has been approved by the Council of Nationalities as well.

The large range of issues on the agenda is to be discussed over the next a little more than a month—by August 4 when parliament will go into summer recess.

Further on 26 Jun Sessions

LD2606195989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1615 GMT on 26 June broadcasts a 30-minute report by an unidentified correspondent on today's proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet. The report begins with reportage from the Soviet of Nationalities showing Deputy Rafik Nishanov opening the session. The correspondent notes that there was a debate on the nomination of Boris Ilich Oleynik to the post of deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities and that he was eventually elected to the office. The video shows some of the exchanges in connection with this nomination.

The session's agenda included a number of draft laws, and Lukyanov is shown explaining these to the deputies. Deputies Zubkov, Popov, and Magamedov raise questions about the status of deputies and the law on pensions. Deputy Likhanov is shown calling for the Order of Victory and the Lenin Prize awarded to Brezhnev to be repealed. Lukyanov intervenes to suggest that a joint session should instruct the presidium to examine these awards.

Deputies Kostishin and Ivanov raise questions about a draft law on a referendum and on acts of legislation. Lukyanov explains to the deputies the functions of the Supreme Soviet and its presidium, pointing out that the presidium met on 24 June to discuss today's agenda. There are a number of matters on which the presidium cannot legislate, he says, but the draft laws on a referendum and on pensions can be discussed here, at least on a first reading.

Deputy Kugultinov then says: "In the speeches of many deputies at the congress, proposals were made—I made a proposal—about the examination of the national questions, of the Crimean Tatars, of the Germans in the republics along the Volga, of the Meskhetian Turks, and other peoples. This question does not bear postponement, and we must tackle it without delay. Yet somehow we don't hear, and I don't see it in the agenda." Lukyanov replies: "I want to remind you of the congress decision. It is written here: The congress entrusts the Soviet of Nationalities, jointly with the supreme soviets of the relevant republics, with studying and making proposals on the questions raised at the congress on restoration of the rights of the Volga Germans, the Crimean Tatars, and the Meskhetian Turks, and on the development of the small peoples; furthermore, it talks directly about the creation of a commission on Nagorno-Karabakh. The day before yesterday, at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, this question was discussed yet again in detail, and the presidium set up a commission which will deal with the questions of the Meskhetian Turks."

The correspondent goes on to note that the deputies examined the question of endorsing the composition of the commissions of the Soviet of Nationalities and the committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet. They unanimously endorsed the composition of the Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations, which will discuss questions of social and economic development of union and autonomous republics, and autonomous oblasts and districts. The Commission for Consumer Goods, Trade, and Municipal, Consumer, and Other Services to the Population, and the Commission for Questions of the Development of Culture, Language, National and International Traditions, and Protection of the Historical Heritage were also endorsed.

The chamber then went on to endorse the composition of the committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Among these, the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee was endorsed.

The correspondent goes on to note that the question of setting up a committee for questions of defense and state security was offered for examination by the chamber. During the course of the debate a proposal was expressed to include in the composition of the committee representatives of all the union republics. It was noted that the absence of deputies from any union republic could be seen as a demonstration of lack of confidence in it.

The composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions on Defense and State Security was endorsed, and it has been decided that a joint session of the chambers should discuss the question of bringing in to the composition of the committee representatives of the Kazakh and Lithuanian soviet socialist republics, the correspondent notes.

Following the debate, the deputies endorsed the composition of the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order; the Committee for Questions of the Work of the Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management; the Committee for Economic Reform Questions; the Committee for Agrarian Questions and Food; the Committee for Construction and Architecture Questions; the Committee for Science, Public Education, Culture, and Upbringing; the Committee for the Protection of the People's Health; the Committee for the Affairs of Women and of Family, Mother, and Child Protection; the Committee for the Affairs of Veterans and Invalids; the Youth Affairs Committee; the Committee for Questions of Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources; and the Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals. At this point the session of the Soviet of Nationalities concluded, the correspondent states.

The correspondent goes on to say that a session of the Soviet of the Union was held in the evening. Primakov tabled proposals that Mokanu should be elected deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union. He was subsequently endorsed in this post after answering various questions from deputies.

Primakov, who chaired the evening session, says that just beacuse an item is included in the agenda, it does not mean it will be adopted as a law by this session. He goes on to explain other technicalities about the agenda. Deputy Burlatskiy wants to know who it is precisely who signs a law before it is passed, and why is it that the agenda includes some items which have never been discussed either in committees or commissions. He stresses the need for the Supreme Soviet to hold talks with the West on human rights. Various other deputies also spoke about various items on the agenda, including the rights and powers of deputies and the sequence of preparing draft laws.

Deputy Yarin says that there has been a lot of talk about the republics at the congress and at the Supreme Soviet, but not much about the RSFSR and the aid it has given to the other republics.

"At this very moment the session of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet is continuing its work," the correspondent concludes.

Live Coverage Would Disrupt Production

LD2606185289 Moscow TASS in English 1829 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 26 TASS—A TASS parliamentary correspondent reporting from the Kremlin:

The chambers of the Soviet Parliament—the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities—resumed work today after a fornight's intermission. At their separate meetings they discussed (?the) same problems: elections of a deputy chairman (the post of one of the two deputy chairmen was vacant in each of the chambers), the endorsement of the session's agenda, the endorsement of the composition of the parliamentary committees and the commission of the chambers.

The Council of the Union elected deputy chairman of the chamber Aleksandr Mokanu, president of the Presidium of Moldavia's Supreme Soviet. Ukrainian poet Boris Oleynik was elected deputy chairman of the Council of Nationalities.

The chambers endorsed a lengthy agenda containing over 20 items which can be subdivided into three sections. The first one is the formation of the Council of Ministers and some other central bodies (the People's Control Committee, the Supreme Court, the Collegium of the USSR Procurator's Office, etc). The second section deals with the organisation of work to fulfil instructions given to the Parliament by the recent Congress of USSR People's Deputies. And, finally, the third and biggest section comprises the discussion of new laws. The deputies are, specifically, to discuss the drafts of the basic principles of legislation on legal system and the basic principles of criminal legislation, the draft laws on the press and other media, on citizen's associations, on inventions. There will be first readings of the bills on the freedom of conscience and religious organizations, on youth and the state policy with regard to youth, on the rights of trade unions.

This range of problems is planned to be discussed within just over four weeks: the chambers decided to work till August 4 and then have a summer recess.

The composition of the parliamentary committees and the permanent commissions of the chambers has been endorsed.

A joint meeting of the chambers will be held tomorrow morning. Head of the Soviet government Nikolay Ryzhkov is expected to deliver a report on the government's composition. He will sum up the discussion of candidatures in committees and commissions which lasted for a week.

It was already reported that there was no live television and radio coverage of today's meetings of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet, though there had been such plans. As Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, told the meeting of the Council of the Union today, the recent live coverage of the work of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies led to a 20 percent decrease of industrial output. Therefore, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet decided that everything that is most interesting and essential in the proceedings of the chambers will be covered in daily information programmes of radio and television. The most important meetings will be broadcast in full, but on tape, in the evening, when the working hours of most people are over.

Lukyanov Details Curtailed Coverage

LD2706053189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0348 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Remarks by Anatoliy Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the Soviet of the Union in Moscow on 26 June—recorded]

[Text] I want to inform you that the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, in its full composition, with the participation of all commission chairmen, and taking into account the fact that there was a production loss of around 20 percent during the previous direct transmission of the congress, has decided to propose—and we listened to the chairman of the committee on radio and television on this—that broadcasts be made selectively when the two chambers are in session on all important matters, and that transmission be transferred to the evening, to be broadcast from approximately 1900 [1500 GMT] on the second program; because what we permitted, so to speak, at the congress will be impossible to carry out over 40 days at the session.

Joint Supreme Soviet Session Opens 27 Jun

Gorbachev Presides

LD2706063289 Moscow TASS in English 0628 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 27 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The USSR Supreme Soviet's two chambers—the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities—again gathered for a joint session on Tuesday after a two-week recess.

The session is being presided over by Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Supreme Soviet.

The parliament began to discuss the composition of the USSR Council of Ministers. A report on the matter is being delivered by Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov.

A list of government members had been submitted for consideration prior to the recess. For a week the parliamentary committees and the commissions of the chambers thoroughly and at times very keenly discussed the candidatures.

In today's report the chairman of the Council of Ministers has got to take into account the considerations expressed in connection with candidatures for ministerial posts.

It must be recalled that not all of them were upheld by the committees and commissions.

The head of government has three options: to insist on his proposal, immediately to offer another candidature or to leave the post vacant until a suitable candidate is found.

Ryzhkov Reports, Withdraws Nominees

LD2706072889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0705 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, 27 Jun—TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

Nikolay Ryzhkov, head of the Soviet government, considers that the discussion of the membership of the government, which has been held for the first time in Soviet practice in the parliamentary commissions and committees, was most useful. Delivering a report today at a joint session of the two chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the outcome of the discussion, he said that following close examination of the government's program of action the deputies wholly supported it. At the same time, deputies advocated strengthening the social aspect of this program and introduced many valuable additions to the package of measures on the country's financial recovery.

The speaker reported that there were no objections of principle aroused by the structure they had proposed for the bodies to run the state. Dwelling on the economic functions of the state, he noted that the most important thing today is to determine precisely the bounds of state regulation of market relations.

Speaking about defense spending, the chairman of the Council of Ministers declared that the government will cut this consistently, proceeding from the principle of reasonable sufficiency. This position received backing from the principle parliamentary committee. The speaker pointed out that the ministers nominated to direct the defense industries well understand the need for conversion and are ready to work in this area.

The speaker talked about the need to surmount the Soviet economy's lack of contact with the world economy. Many deputies, he reported, pointed this out during discussion of the candidates for the main posts in the foreign economic government organs.

Moving onto the personnel make-up of the government, Nikolay Ryzhkov said that six candidates failed to received the backing of commissions and committees. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian in a similar report transmitted at 0830 GMT on 27 June notes that "This is the first case in Soviet history in which parliamentarians have rejected candidates for government posts."] He agreed with that evaluation and declared that he would propose other candidates to parliament.

Ryzhkov's Report Detailed

LD2706120289 Moscow TASS in English 1132 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 27 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The revolutionary character of the Soviet parliament corresponds to the ambitious plans of perestroyka, Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov said in a report at a joint session of chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet today. The session resumed its work on Monday [26 June] after a two-week break.

The head of the Soviet Government stressed that people's deputies had made many useful and constructive proposals, including a package of problems connected with stepping up the social orientation of the work of all the management bodies even more than was planned previously. Special attention was devoted to problems of the countryside. Ryzhkov said that important amendments had been made during the discussion on the government programme of improving the financial situation.

He dwelt on the structure of the government bodies and said that deputies had made some remarks, specifically on the expediency of the Soviet Ministry of Culture. Ryzhkov believes that the country should have an effective Ministry of Culture which would properly reflect the variety of the country's cultural life.

Ryzhkov pointed to the need to form ministries of a new type and to transfer many of their present functions to enterprises and territories. He agreed with the opinion expressed by deputies that many ministries were introducing new principles of economic management too slowly.

Speaking about defence spending, Ryzhkov stressed that the government would consistently take measures to reduce it. At the same time he pointed out that the principle of reasonable sufficiency should be supported by a further technical reequipment of the Armed Forces on a qualitatively new basis. We should give the Army all-round support and attention and do our best to maintain and further enhance its prestige, Ryzhkov stressed.

He spoke in detail about the performance of the country's law-enforcement agencies and stressed that not only firmmess, but also a comprehensive approach to the solution of all regional problems were needed for improving the situation in variouis parts of the country. He supported the idea that the USSR State Security Committee should take part in the struggle against organised crime. Otherwise, he said, developments like those in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and other regions are inevitable.

Speaking about the work of the State Foreign Economic Commission and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, Ryzhkov pointed out that it was necessary to do away with the isolation of the Soviet economy from the world economy. He said that the present economic relations of Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member-states were well behind the new principles of economic management mastered in those countries of late. It is obvious that without changing forms and methods of our relations, this process will lag behind more and more and, consequently, the effectiveness of foreign economic relations of CMEA member states will decline, Ryzhkov pointed out.

The prime minister pointed out further that during the discussion people's deputies had supported the government's proposals on the composition of the new government. However, six people were denied support, specifically, Marat Gramov recommended for the post of head of the Physical Culture and Sports Committee, Vasili Zakharov recommended for the post of Soviet minister of culture, Gennadiy Bogomyakov recommended for the post of minister of the oil and gas industry, Lira Rozenova recommended for the post of the Committee for Prices, Vladimir Gribov recommended for the post of head of the USSR State Bank, and Polad Polad-Zade recommended to the post of minister of land reclamation and water management. Aside from this, one post was vacant and two more also became vacant because the candidatures were removed from discussion. Thus, the government submitted for approval at the current session has nine vacant posts. Candidatures to them will be put forward later.

Ryzhkov Answers Deputies' Questions

LD2706103989 Moscow TASS in English 1027 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent: After Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov reported to the USSR Supreme Soviet on Tuesday [27 June] the results of the discussion (?on the composition of the) country's government in the parliamentary committees and the commissions of the chambers, he answered deputies' questions ranging from regional cost accounting to the problems of culture.

In his answers Ryzhkov did not object to the idea that a law on a vote of confidence in the country's government should be adopted in the Soviet Union.

At the same time he specified that such a law should also stipulate the government's right to tender its resignation.

Many questions concerned environmental protection issues. Ryzhkov recalled that the ecological situation in 104 cities of the country had been recognised as very complete.

He spoke out in favour of expediting the elaboration of an ecological programme of the USSR which would realise the ideas voiced by people's deputies.

Speaking of prospects for the functioning of the Semipalatinsk nuclear test range in Kazakhstan, Ryzhkov announced that a decision was taken to sharply limit the yield and number of tests there. He emphasised that, as soon as the international situation makes it possible to stop upgrading nuclear weapons, test ranges should be the first to be closed down.

A series of questions dealt with the activities of various ministries. In reply to a sharp criticism of the state of affairs concerning the availability of medicines and medical equipment in the country, Ryzhkov announced plans to turn the production of sophisticated equipment over to the Ministry of General Machine Building which is in charge of the production of space technology.

In his view, the high technical level of the enterprises of the sector will make it possible to remedy the situation in the coming two-three years. At the same time he did not rule out the possibility of purchasing abroad several plants for the production of medicines.

In answer to one of the questions Ryzhkov said that the salary of the USSR minister was 800 rubles a month and that of state committee—700 roubles.

Then the deputies proceeded to a discussion of the composition of the government.

Candidates for Ministerial Posts Questioned

PM2706104589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Special correspondents V. Dolganov, A. Illesh, and M. Kushtapin report under the rubric "In the USSR Supreme Soviet Committees and Commissions": "A Most Fastidious Examination"]

[Excerpts] Is it possible for anyone, in just 1 month, to study the complex science of economic management and to acquire the skill and habit of making the most complex economic calculations as opposed to the primitive arithmetical functions of a "thrift economy"? It would be difficult. Almost impossible. Nonetheless, as the work now being done in the USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions shows, our deputies have largely changed their approaches not only to the work in hand but also to the plans of candidate members of the future government. [passage omitted]

There should have been joy among deputies when they learned, in the process of E. Pervyshin's nomination for the office of USSR minister of communications, that the number of our ministries would be cut by one. Because any cutbacks of departments in our economy, which is overflowing with offices and choking on the administrative-management structures of economic management, are enthusiastically welcomed today. But there was no unanimity in the Commission for Questions of Transport, Communications, and Information Science. Is it not likely that, following the fusion of the Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry and the Ministry of Communications into a single ministry, this consolidated organization (the Ministry of Communications system now employs 1.84 million persons, and this number will swell to 2.4 million) will represent a "victory" for producers, while services to the population will be treated as being of secondary importance?

Deputies were also perturbed by another serious question. When a number of enterprises, now under the USSR Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry, lose the protection of the defense industry sector, output quality may decline: There are already numerous complaints about automatic telephone stations and even about conventional telephone apparatus.

The deputies were not fully satisfied by E. Pervyshin's program; five voted against his candidacy and an equal number abstained.

A real record was set by the result of voting at a joint sitting of the Committee for the Affairs of Veterans and Invalids and the Commission for Questions of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy. Just one deputy supported L. Rozenova's candidacy for the office of chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices. In some deputies' opinion, her program upholds yesterday's views on the problems of price formation and the monitoring of wholesale, retail, and purchasing prices, and on the questions of enhancing output quality and satisfying the market's needs for goods which are associated with these problems.

That was a repeat discussion—Lira Ivanovna had already met the members of the Commission for Questions of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy. She failed to convince them that she would be able to effect restructuring in a sector where she has worked for over 20 years now, having been deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices in the last few years. The result was depressing for the candidate.

V. Durasov, who was proposed as candidate for the office of first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee and USSR minister, did not have an easy time at the confirmation proceedings, either. V. Durasov was recommended only after a sharp discussion.

A. Volkov, candidate for the office of USSR minister of civil aviation, who won the deputies' recommendation, did not evade planning questions in his program. He demonstrated the results of these and many other flaws, especially the wear and tear on aircraft and helicopters. Our equipment is inferior to foreign equipment as regards both fuel efficiency and reliability.

Many countries in the world, even the most developed ones, do not shun purchasing foreign aviation equipment. The USSR is the only exception. That was justified in the past, when our own equipment was up to world standards. Our design bureaus and firms ought to abandon their ambitions. Alas, departments create obstacles for airmen even in what would seem to be a simple step like leasing the best foreign-made machines.

The candidate minister places great hopes on conversion. This is not surprising: A man wearing the uniform of a marshal of aviation faced the deputies. All of a sudden, one of the deputies asked a question which disrupted the smooth flow of the discussion: "Why is it that the leader of a civilian department which makes it mandatory for all employees to wear its specific uniform is wearing a different uniform?" "I have served 40 years in the Army," A. Volkov replied, "and this is indicated in my career data. But if deputies insist, I am prepared to take this uniform off...."

No, the deputies did not insist in particular, even though the "levity" of the conversation had a fundamental underlying cause. This was realized by everyone in the hall. Apparently the candidate minister also realized it. He was presented with a series of complaints which have not been resolved for years and which any one of us could make about Aeroflot: concerning service standards, canceled flights and lack of relevant compensation, and the fact that tickets are impossible to obtain not only in the summer but all the year round now.

That same evening the deputies recommended Yu. Volmer for the office of minister of the maritime fleet. Among other things, they learned from him details about an incident which perturbs everybody. That was the accident involving the "Maksim Gorkiy," a large motor vessel fitted with modern navigation equipment. This is what Yu. Volmer said when describing the situation: "Those on bridge were simply unwilling to see the ice, even though the vessel had been sailing along its edge for a very long time. We established that nobody on the ship had made special inquiries regarding ice conditions.... Of course, we still have to look into everything, but this is an extremely indicative fact."

Yes, it is indicative. And primarily it indicates that, as in many other sectors, executives in our country do not feel themselves to be personally responsible for the work assigned them. This is why deputies responded in such a lively fashion to one of the provisions in the candidate's program. For example, Second Officer O. Yegorov, USSR people's deputy from Kaliningrad who was seated next to one of us, made the following entry in his notebook: "The minister says that the newly created Maritime Bank intends to issue securities and captains now have a chance to become—to a certain extent—if not owners then at least persons with extreme economic interest."

This is an important innovation. Yu. Volmer's report and his answers to questions contained more than enough such innovations to ensure that he win the vote in favor of his candidacy for the office of USSR minister of the maritime fleet, with two abstentions and one vote against.

Andrey Sakharov Interviewed on Congress

18001268 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Jun 89 p 11

[Interview with Academician A.D. Sakharov, USSR people's deputy, by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer Yuriy Rost: "The Congress Cannot Do Everything Right Away...."; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] [Rost] Andrey Dmitriyevich, the first Congress of People's Deputies has ended. What do you think of its results?

[Sakharov] If one has in mind the final document, it contains a number of provisions that were formulated much more precisely than in previous state acts. The question of property sounds more radical than it did in the materials of the March Plenum of the Central Committee. And on the whole the final document contains remarkable strides. But unfortunately they are merely declamatory since they are not backed up by changes in the political system. The proposals in the speeches of Popov, Shmelev, Yemelyanov, Yablokov, and a number of other delegates from various regions of the country were not taken into account. Even obkom [oblast committee] secretaries—people included in the existing administrative-economic system—supported extremely radical economic and organizational-structural ideas. Incidentally those same people, when they moved from concrete economic issues to ideological ones, continued to hold conservative positions.

This is a manifestation of the overall half-heartedness of the congress and the contradictions of attitudes in the existing party and state apparatus which, on the one hand, understands the absolute need for radical economic changes and certain political ones, but tries to get by with a minimum with respect to political changes. Or else it tries not to change anything at all. It is no accident that the congress majority formed in this environment turned out to be extremely conservative with respect to the political and ideological structure.

[Rost] But the proposals concerning changing the economic structure made by representatives of the "left part" of the hall were given emotional support by the "right" as well.

[Sakharov] Yes. But I am convinced that it is all interconnected. It is impossible to be conservative in politics and ideology and progressive in economics.

[Rost] The failures of our economy and the obvious need for radical reforms push the society toward changing the political structures as well.

[Sakharov] The economy, of course, pushes us toward this. But so far the majority of the congress, as well as a large part of the party and state apparatus, adheres to the halfway structure which in some respect corresponds to the Chinese path after the elimination of Hu Yaobang. This path was not justifiable, I assume, under the conditions of China. And it is not justifiable under the conditions of the USSR.

Indeed, how can we conduct a radical land reform, for example, whereby the land should be transferred to the hands of the local authorities and then to the hands of free civilized cooperators, to use Lenin's expression, if the local authorities are under pressure from the party-state structure, which is not interested in land reform? The only thing this structure has agreed to so far is a program of treating agriculture with a mustard plaster or, as I said in my speech, hooking weak links up to life support systems. In such a system all the collective farms [kolkhozes] are retained, the weak ones are released from their bills and indebtedness, and as a result the strong ones receive no support. And no growth of production is possible this way. The weak ones simply swallow up everything that is given to them.

[Rost] Do you think the central departments are a parasitic superstructure?

[Sakharov] I cannot call it parasitic since it really does provide leadership; it really does take on a certain regulatory function. But today this is an impediment to normal economic development and is inseparably linked to social injustice. The dictatorship of the departments should be eliminated in two areas—on the one hand through political reform, and on the other through national constitutional reform—because our dictatorship proceeds not only along the administrative production vertical, but also according to the national indicator. A unified production structure is imposed on the national republics, and the lack of independence in local areas leads to disproportions and violation of social justice, and impedes economic development.

And here is the third thing that is not being done; it pertains to solving the national problem. No progress has been made here. We are told that the plenum of the Central Committee will resolve this. Indeed it seems to me that the plenum can discuss certain things, but it must not replace the Congress of People's Deputies, which is supposed to resolve national-constitutional issues. Nothing of the kind has appeared on the agenda.

[Rost] When you went to the congress did you expect that all the problems would be solved at once?

[Sakharov] No. In fact I was expecting what happened. But this does not mean that I was satisfied with what happened....

I am bothered by the concentration of an excessively large amount of personal power in the hands of a few. I consider this a potentially dangerous phenomenon.

[Rost] What is the danger?

[Sakharov] The initiator of restructuring, a person of high intellect and with a clearly expressed orientation toward reform, can in some way end up controlled by forces behind the scenes. If the circumstances change he might end up unprotected by the democratic mechanisms.

[Rost] The power Gorbachev has been given by being elected at the congress is a guarantee that he will be protected from the influence of behind-the-scene forces.

[Sakharov] No. If he had obtained power as a result of normal expression of the will of the people and direct elections this would indeed be the case. I think that in the future it will be necessary to introduce just such a system whereby the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and his deputy are elected by a direct popular vote on an alternative basis. But now his power is obtained by a very complicated and indirect path. At the Congress of People's Deputies he passed through without any alternatives on the CPSU list, which includes exactly as many candidates as there are positions.

Further. The chairman of the Supreme Soviet, as we know, does not go through the procedure of secret elections to the Supreme Soviet. This is not a violation of the Constitution, but it does not strengthen his mandate either.

I first heard Gorbachev's speech in Gorkiy when I was in the hospital. The only person I had to talk to there was a KGB worker. I told him that the country had been lucky: For the first time in a long period of time we had an unquestionably intelligent leader. And I continue to hold this opinion. But he is in a very difficult situation. And it has not become clear and cloudless since the congress. This is one side of the danger. The other consists in the remaining political system itself, which allows such immense personal power.

The country's political system has undergone changes before our very eyes. And with our participation. The elections are evidence of this. But the system is still such that it actually controls both the appointments to positions and all the legislative activity.

The Supreme Soviet has turned out to be very controlled. This was already clear from the course of the first meetings. It included some people who were not sufficiently qualified in legislative activity, some who came from the apparatus, and some who have not left their main place of work, not only continuing to work as part of the apparatus out of conviction, but also remaining on its payroll. These people will be, it seems to me—some without even thinking about it—subordinate to the policy it promotes. We do not know who will have jurisdiction over them when the political situation changes. There is the danger that they will always be subservient to the power that is above them. The idea that there should be a permanently operating Soviet parliament is good in the abstract. But in reality it does not take into account the conditions of a single-party system or the specific system of apparatus selection rather than the personal choice of this Supreme Soviet.

[Rost] I think the deputies should retain the power granted to them by the elections and use it. The Supreme Soviet should perform the functions of the working organ during the period between congresses. But it should not adopt laws. Commissions that are created from members of the Supreme Soviet and other people's deputies will prepare the laws. The Supreme Soviet will hold preliminary discussions of them. (It is impossible to discuss the laws in detail at the congress.) And the results of the discussion should be known to the people's deputies. Thus the people's congress will not become a rubber-stamp organ. On the basis of complete information it will either reject a law or accept it. And, of course, in disputed cases it is possible to have further discussion at the congress itself. I am speaking of what I consider necessary as a guarantee of power of the people.

[Rost] In your opinion, has the congress not created these guarantees?

[Sakharov] In my opinion, it has not, although I think this was the main task facing the congress. This problem can be rectified. It can be rectified at the next sessions of the congress. But today we have not yet received a really new political structure which can provide for implementation of restructuring.

[Rost] Speaking at the very beginning of the congress you proposed adopting a decree concerning power. Your proposal was not support by the majority. Did you expect this outcome? If yes, what was the point of your proposal?

[Sakharov] In the first place, after voting on the decree the congress was not exactly the same as it had been before in terms of its tendencies. In the second place, very many people think while observing what is taking place at the congress. And they change their positions. We have observed this throughout the work of the congress. There has been a gradual shift in the direction of the more "leftist" minority. The "leftist" minority is gradually coming closer to being the majority. This has not occurred, but there has been a tendency in this direction. This is not tangible since it is still a process, but it can become tangible.

[Rost] Does it not seem to you that you and the other members of the "Moscow group," whose proposals were rejected out of hand by the majority of votes, acted tactically like inexperienced parliamentarians by raising such serious subjects before the congress for discussion right at the very beginning? In spite of the generally democratic nature of the elections, many of the people who ended up in the Kremlin Palace still regarded the congress as a ritual meeting, although it was adorned with slogans of restructuring. If you had put forth your proposals at a time when the people in the hall understood that it was a different time and the tasks of the meeting were different, perhaps the result would have been different as well.

[Sakharov] No. The result would not have been different. It was precisely that shifting of the hall "to the left" that took place; it occurred to a significant degree because the "left part" (not the "Moscow group" but the "left part" in general) was constantly suggesting alternative courses. Moreover, there was an attempt at compromise. Popov suggested a compromise agenda. I thought that this was wrong, but it was also rejected. Nonetheless all this shook up the majority.

[Rost] Well, in your view what value was there in the congress?

[Sakharov] In the final document the congress formulated the need to adopt a decision concerning social issues. We have come a long way here. But we must not only rectify the situation at the given moment by raising the minimum pension to the current subsistence level; we need a mechanism which would maintain the pension level at the subsistence level as it changes with time. I wish to take note of something else: It was pointed out in Ryzhkov's report and the final document that working pensioners will receive a pension depending on their earnings. This is very important! It should motivate qualified and experienced people to work. Then it turned out that this pertains only to worker-pensioners and foremen.

[Rost] I met Ales Adamovich. He said that at his suggestion peasants were included....

[Sakharov] And physicians?

[Rost] Not physicians.

[Sakharov] There you see. Nurses who are receiving a pension could very well work. As if we had too many nurses!

[Rost] What, in your view, is the influence of the congress on people who for the first time have received the mandate of a delegate with a consultative vote?

[Sakharov] This is a totally psychological role of the congress. It is unusually interesting and unusually important for the formation of public opinion in the country and for the political education of the people. It is also important for the deputies themselves, who have been educated during the course of the congress. The awakening of the political feelings of millions of people began as early as the election campaign. It became clear that the people are by no means passive on the inside. They simply have had no arena for the application their forces. And when this arena appeared, real political activity arose. Its significance will be increasingly clear.

[Rost] It seems to me that one of the achievements of the congress is the polarization of opinions not only of individual deputies but of entire groups, the separation of the meeting into the majority and the minority. Having cast off indifferent unanimity, the congress declared the existence of an alternative approach to solving political and economic problems.

[Sakharov] ...And it revealed for all to see the strong and weak sides of each group. It showed that the "liberal" minority actually is a minority; it is split. There is no clarity or unanimity within it. (At the same time the existence of this part of the deputies is extremely important.) It should be noted that the Muscovites prepared conceptual documents ahead of time and tried to distribute them. They did not fully succeed in this, just as they did not succeed in drawing public opinion to their side during the course of the congress. Something like a rejection took place. It seems to me that the attempt was somehow artificial and had to do with the fact that in general the provinces do not like Moscow, since Moscow has a number of material and cultural as well as ideological advantages. This arouses envy and animosity.

The "Moscow group" for its part has sometimes behaved rashly. And sometimes even tactlessly. The Muscovites have done a lot of talking instead of sharing the burden of the speeches among like-thinkers from other places. An impression of exclusivity was created. Not everything was taken into account tactically and there arose a kind of confrontation between the majority and the "Moscow group," which in and of itself was democratic. But the majority in the congress did not completely understand this kind of democracy. Approximately the same thing can be said about the "Leningrad group," although it is less definite. And also about certain others where there were such, for example, as Sergey Konev, who at his own risk entered the open political arena along with several other like-thinkers.

Thus in many deputy groups, including the Moscow group, there was a split and at the end of the congress it was as though this split were given organizational form. There appeared an interregional group which is not a group with a particular political platform. This group is based on the desire to retain the right to a difference of opinions and to protect the right to present an alternative opinion to the congress. It seems to me that potentially there could appear democratic mechanisms with which the minority opinion would not be automatically suppressed. This is possible.

[Rost] And what do you have to say about the majority?

[Sakharov] It has frequently been aggressive; you recall how it applauded General Rodionov when he participated in the suppression of the rally in Tbilisi. This is power. But it is not monolithic. The center can separate itself from it fairly easily (and this has already partially happened). This center is now sustaining the left side.

This is the distribution of forces that took place at the congress. The "rightist" majority reflects the will of the administrative-management system. These people have their own social order; many of them have become deputies from social organizations. They have not gone through the system of elections and essentially have not been elected but selected. On the other hand, elections in social organizations have made it possible for many deputies who are in the minority to end up in the congress.

As concerns those who have gone through the territorial and territorial-national okrugs, among them there are both "leftists" and "rightists," but in general this is also a source from which in the future what we might call the "democratic" part of the congress will be sustained. And the discussion took place with this complex composition. It was very strongly controlled. To some degree Gorbachev even provoked the discussion.

[Rost] Is there a negative meaning in the word "provoked"?

[Sakharov] No, I am investing no judgment in it.

He provoked it in the sense that he made it possible for this discussion to develop. He subjected the "leftists" to a certain amount of criticism. On the other hand he made it possible for them to speak. He made it possible to present various viewpoints. In general I must say that he proved to be a good director of the meeting. To some degree he achieved the voting results he desired—results with a certain shift in the direction of the "rightists." But this reflected the composition of the congress.

[Rost] To what degree did the composition of the congress reflect the attitude of the population it represents?

[Sakharov] I think public opinion is not very definite and is very dynamic. Since the elections proceeded under the supervision of the apparatus (in particular, the okrug meetings frequently made it possible to get rid of "undesirable" candidates), I assume that the attitude of the population even at the time of the elections was somewhat more radical. A certain weeding out took place in favor of conservative candidates. The apparatus displaced the result but did not manage to fully remove it. It could not, or did not want to, or the people did not allow it to....

[Rost] What is the role of direct television broadcasting with respect to the viewers and the deputies themselves?

[Sakharov] It is an extremely important thing, quite unprecedented in the history of our country. And, taking into account the special political nature of our congress, it is generally unprecedented in world history. The televised debates attracted an immense amount of attention and served to further politicize the population. The politicization was extremely spasmodic. I do not know if this was a part of Gorbachev's plans. We never know which decisions are made by him, and which appear according to his wishes but as though of their own accord. He is able to construct similar combinations from which something like a "Zugzwang" emerges, to use the language of chess, and he ends up with what he wants. In this respect he is an absolutely brilliant politician.

At the meeting with Lukyanov it was promised that there would be television broadcasting. Then we saw the television program for the time of the congress, from which it was obvious that there would be nothing of the kind. And when stormy discussion of this issue broke out with strong expressions, it was as though Lukyanov and the party apparatus were forced to retreat. But I still do not know if this was a forced retreat or if it had just been planned that way, and in fact Gorbachev wanted the country to see it all.

[Rost] What is your impression of your own speeches? How did interrelations develop between you and the hall and the presidium of the congress?

[Sakharov] I felt that Gorbachev was giving me a certain amount of leeway. After all, he let me be one of the first to speak from the podium. It seems that I was even the very first, like the person in the circus who comes out first and rolls out the carpet. And there was an immediate confrontation with the hall. I do not know whether this was planned or....

[Rost] But who could have anticipated that you would want to go so far all at once?

[Sakharov] I also do not think that the chairman contrived anything. The confrontation with the hall reflected the ossified conservatism of a considerable proportion of the deputies which, to some degree, I think, even conforms to Gorbachev's plans. On the other hand I probably said more than Gorbachev wanted me to. Therefore he began to hold me back. He did not allow me to speak for a very long time. It took a very large amount of pressure from me to get the final word.

[Rost] Andrey Dmitriyevich, how did you feel during the episode of 2 July when an emotional avalanche came down upon you after the speech by the disabled veteran of the Afghan war? Did you not have the feeling that the hall was being unfair to you? For after your 1980 speech against the invasion of Afghanistan you were sent to Gorkiy. If the government had listened to your words at that time thousands of boys would still be alive.

[Sakharov] Morally I felt completely vulnerable. Of course my position was so difficult because I did not have documentary evidence. But I wish to say that in the majority of cases about which we must speak there is no documentary evidence. I thought that the main thing was that all this action, either objectively or subjectively, was intended to distract attention from the basic issue—the responsibility for the Afghan war, for the immense sacrifices both sides made because of a criminal political decision. I have now seen a letter from a group of Afghans in which they demand that they be told the name of the person who signed the order to send in Soviet troops. Nobody has published this order yet.

[Rost] What was written in the Canadian newspaper which, I assume, none of the speakers had seen?

[Sakharov] I have not seen it. The main thing was the question of the prisoners. I based my statement on information from Western radio and television pertaining to the first years of the war. My words have now been confirmed but this gives only an external picture of the events. In the Army, in order to protect themselves, they say: "It cannot be called an execution when the commander has drawn fire on his own position. But in addition to the commander there were also enlisted men there.... Perhaps this might morally justify the commander personally, but, in my opinion, it does nothing to change the evaluation of the situation as a whole."

[Rost] The end of the congress.... On the one hand, as you say, Gorbachev restrained you, but in the end he gave you the floor. And it turns out that you gave an alternative evaluation after being set up by him.

[Sakharov] I think this is important in two senses: in the sense of the psychological effect on the entire country and the society. This is on the one hand. In addition this gave an evaluation to that which seems negative and incomplete in the work of the congress and that which must be done in the future. The congress, of course, cannot feed the country immediately or return pure air and water immediately. The congress cannot do everything right away. But the congress should have, was obligated to create the political prerequisites for this. And, unfortunately, the congress did not do this.

My speech was somewhat dramatized by the episode with the turning off of the television. But this had nothing to do with me. The episode had to do with the announcement by an interregional group of its existence.... The chairman apparently suspected that after this announcement something unpredictable would happen. True, they also turned off my microphone in the hall.

[Rost] On the one hand you are allowed to speak about conceptual problems, albeit with microphone interference, and on the other hand, in the final word, the person in charge refuted your statements.

[Sakharov] I did not assume that he would share my viewpoint. This is quite in the order of things. In fact in any pluralistic society there must be various evaluations. And this is what we have now. And as a result the congress turned out to be ideologically much more profound than it might have been.... Which is valuable. And this is perhaps the most important result of the congress. Taking the future into account.... The distant future.

Article Reviews Television Coverage of Congress

18001255 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 7

[Article by Vl. Arsenyev: "The TV Dimension of the Congress"]

[Text] The first USSR Congress of People's Deputies, which for 3 weeks had the undivided attention of all those whom the future of the country does not leave indifferent, has come to a close. Millions upon millions of people were drawn into the heat of its debate and discussions with the help of the TV Channel 2 broadcasting the proceedings live, giving everyone who so desired an opportunity to become privy to the intense political life of which the Kremlin Palace of Congresses was the focus. However, these days were historic not only for the audience, but also for Central TV itself, because never before had it been so close to glasnost in its pure form, without adjustments, having become its mouthpiece and helping affirm its necessity for the cause of restructuring.

Our special correspondent, who has visited the Main Editorial Office of Information, the node for all conduits connecting the congress and those who waited for it in front of their TV sets, reports on how Central TV covered the proceedings of the congress, and how much effort this called for.

About 200 persons supervised by the staff set up at the editorial office were involved in preparing and producing programs associated with the congress. In other words, all the main forces were mobilized, as, by the way, has always been the case when a significant event of paramount importance drew close, such as the 27th CPSU Congress or the 19th party conference. However, this is where the similarity ends. There were many more differences which here, at the editorial office, they regard as unparalleled and unprecedented, and, which is also very important, foretell a different and non-protocol approach toward sociopolitical programming in the future as well. This is also what the...

Editors

...believe. "This is how simulcasting used to be done," explains Deputy Editor-in-Chief Oleg Tochilin. "A grandiose panorama of the hall. A solemn [camera] passes along the presidium. On the screen, there was a multitude of people who listened to the speaker in unison, and raised their hands on cue. I remember the color very well. Everything was sort of flooded with red light. You could not make out the faces."

What about now?

"An angle, a detail, the close-up began to dominate during live telecasts. Two cameramen with cameras set up on their shoulders walked through the hall, looking at the faces of deputies and registering their reactions to what was going on. What came out was not just stenographic TV minutes, but a report that made it possible to transmit the thought, pulse, and spirit of the congress. Only TV can accomplish that. However, this has been perhaps the first time when we actually took advantage of this opportunity, and resolved to depart from the old canons...."

Let me add to what Tochilin has said that this did indeed necessitate determination. The desire to work in keeping with the precedent, thus safeguarding yourself from worries and a possible rebuke from on high, is much too enticing. However, the congress itself and its nature called for non-standard actions, making it possible to rise higher, see further, and gain a more profound understanding. Live telecasts from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on channel 2 of the Central TV lasted 95 hours and 10 minutes.

Still, the greatest organizational and technical difficulties were associated with the "Vremya" program. Three of its original editions are produced—at 1230 (Moscow time) [0830 GMT] for the audience of the Far East; at 1700 for Siberia and Central Asia, and at 2100 that which the Muscovites get to watch. All editions called for their own set of materials on the congress. They have got to be put on the air at the time appointed without fail. People worked from 900 in the morning until 2300 at night. On top of that, the program "120 minutes," also devoted to the congress, had to be produced. Apart from live broadcasts, a total of 56 hours and 1 minute of information on the congress was offered (this does not take into account what the programs of other editorial offices relayed about the congress).

Here is a characteristic point: In recalling these days overflowing with tension, all whom I have met and talked to mentioned what else they could have done, and the opportunities they have missed, rather than fatigue. Editor-in-Chief Eduard Sagalayev, analyzing the results of work, said that by the next congress the editorial office would like to see a different, more analytical "Vremya" program, a program which would follow the example of IZVESTIYA, giving the floor to its columnists in every issue; the latter stressed the most characteristic of the events of the day. In his opinion, the chronologically adjusted, short rendering of statements by deputies, characteristic of the "Vremya" program, could become part of the special issues of "The Congress Diary," even at greater length, say, on Channel 2 at 2300. One more thing. "We have to create our own group of parliamentary correspondents," said Eduard Mikhaylovich. This is not due to some correspondents accredited at the congress not being up to the task. On the contrary, all of them acquitted themselves splendidly. However, life shows that sooner or later we will have to make this decision. It would be better to prepare for it in advance. Incidentally, a couple days ago he studied thoroughly the work of the British TV in the parliament....

Producers

There is no broadcasting without them; it simply cannot exist. Most of the producers at the Main Editorial Office of Information are women. The possible reason is that this work itself calls for particular presence of mind, discipline, and endurance—the traits not present in all men. Four producers—Kaleriya Kislova, Natalya Levitskaya (in the mobile TV unit ensuring transmission from the floor), and Irina Turkina with Galina Vishneva (they were stationed in the lobby, and reported from there during intermissions) worked in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

"We had seven static cameras set up at different locations throughout the hall," says Natalya Sergeyevna, one of the most experienced producers of Central TV. She has been working for them since 1956. "The cameras which our cameramen Valeriy Pankratyev, Boris Kiparisov, or Igor Chulpenev carry around the hall are called 'reporter units.' Their work is difficult. However, there were no defects or failures. For example, with their help we, the producers, managed to show the delegation which the deputy spoke for. In general, we showed all deputies to a man."

"But there were more than 2,000 of them."

"We showed them all. To be sure, we missed two, but we made up for the 'oversight' during the session."

"However, to this end you had to memorize the faces of all deputies...."

"Correct. However, our profession builds up visual memory...."

I would admit that what Levitskaya had said impressed me, all the more so because I already knew by that time: she spent her workdays lasting 12 to 13 hours in the quite tight premises of the PTS [Mobile TV Unit]. This is very fatiguing.

As it was, Lyudmila Ovchinnikova (she was in charge of planning the work of producers and technical support) explained, other producers working at Ostankino were subject to stress no less severe. Some picked up the PTS signal in the relay equipment room, wiring it out to the TV tower. Others pieced together episodes for the "Vremya" program, where undivided attention is needed, combined with dispatch and short response time. In addition, every day there were two or three 10-minute feeds from the lobby, where deputies gave interviews to Central TV during intermissions (there were 306 such interviews). Three TV bridges linking the deputies with Leningrad, Minsk, and Tallinn were held. Also, there were direct feeds for the program "120 Minutes." However, there also were other main players without whom our idea of the congress would have also been incomplete. They were the.....

Reporters.

There were many of them working at the congress. Even political commentators Aleksandr Tikhomirov and Igor Fesunenko, who have seen a lot and worked at the major party and government forums of the country, worked as reporters. However, even for them the Congress of Deputies became a discovery of new, previously impossible TV journalism.

"Previously, we were nothing else but assistant producers," says Igor Sergeyevich. "I remember how Brezhnev would not even finish his congress speech, and I would be ordered to locate Cunhal and hear out his statement about how brilliant a report has just been made. This time, it was different. The very atmosphere of the congress prompted us to be active; the interviews were not for show. Also, our interlocutors did not speak in stock phrases. You could approach party and government leaders, knowing that there would not be a refusal, and protracted coordination with their aides would be unnecessary. I interviewed comrades Gorbachev, Lukyanov, Medvedev, and Biryukova during intermissions in the proceedings of the congress. Their attitude toward the journalist was as benevolent as it gets. I interpret this as another sign of the times when the difference is eliminated between us and the civilized world, where this kind of behavior by the leaders is the rule, where it is understood full well that you talk on the air not with a particular journalist but rather with the entire people.

"Could we have done a better job? Yes, we could have. Apparently, I am not the first one to bring this up. Indeed, skimpy comments to the speeches of deputies, about 10 seconds apiece, do not really do much for the viewers. As I see it, this skimpiness reflects old approaches, when it was believed that we should speak as if from a distance. However, the plank of concern, of open and honest views of the matters of the motherland, was raised to such a height by the congress that now the TV as well cannot go on working as it used to...."

...I was leaving the editorial office at the time when they were viewing on the monitors an interview with Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers N. Ryzhkov given to the own correspondent of the USSR Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] in Uzbekistan. This was a timely, topical interview concerning events in the southern part of the republic. I thought that it had been impossible before, but by then it was natural.

Gorbachev Queried on NKAO During Congress Recess

NC2106081289 Yerevan KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN in Armenian 7 Jun 89 pp 1-2

[Report by correspondent A. Gasparyan from Moscow on Funzik Dovlatyan's interview with Mikhail Gorbachev]

[Excerpts] The USSR Congress of People's Deputies remains at the center of attention in our society and around the world.

It is enough to mention that more than 70,000 letters and telegrams have been received for congress and people's deputies. [passage omitted]

The people's deputies from our republic are also receiving telegrams and letters from their electors.

[USSR People's Artist Frunzik Dovlatyan] It is possible to state boldly that the Congress of People's Deputies is a phenomenon which opens prospects for real democracy. The country faces a grave economic situation. How can we extricate ourselves from that predicament? We wanted an answer to this and to other questions bothering us, the Armenians, in M.S. Gorbachev's address. Alas, we received no concrete answers. The address dealt with the issues in a general way.

Engrossed in such thoughts, I left the congress during the recess. Fortune smiled on me. At the staircase of the lobby I came face to face with Mikhail Gorbachev. Khoren Abramyan and Sos Sarkisyan were behind me blocking the crowd. The TV cameramen continued to shoot. I said:

[Dovlatyan] Mikhail Sergeyevich, may I ask a question?

[Gorbachev] Please.

[Dovlatyan] I propose a plebiscite.

[Gorbachev] Are you convinced that is the only solution? He asked me in return, immediately grasping the issue at hand.

[Dovlatyan] Yes. If a lasting solution to the problem cannot be found within government circles, then let the people have their say.

[Gorbachev] The matter should be given more consideration. Other alternatives might be found.

[Dovlatyan] The Karabakh people are on the edge of a precipice. We must hurry.

[Gorbachev] I understand, but we might find other ways to solve the problem.

[Dovlatyan] Thus I received no definite reply. On the same day, while I was watching the program "Time," I found out that our conversation had been deleted from the coverage of Gorbachev's contacts in the lobby. [passage omitted]

Congress of People's Deputies Assessed

18001223 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 13 Jun 89 p 1

[Unattributed article: "The Congress: Turning Toward Human Needs"]

[Text] The first USSR Congress of People's Deputies has completed its work. Behind it is a 13-day marathon of heated and unprecedentedly pointed discussions of the most pressing problems of the country's life. With great attention and understandable interest, we all followed as the tense drama of the congress unfolded. This was a truly unprecedented ritual brought to us in detail by live all-union radio and television broadcasts of all sessions, and by rapid, verbatim press publication of the transcripts of the congress. There has been nothing like this in our history. And that one fact, that openness, already inspires confidence that restructuring will take on an irreversible nature and that democratization and glasnost will become an inalienable feature of our social existence.

It can be argued today how fruitful and productive our highest forum of people's power proved to be in terms of concrete solutions, how well it has justified our great expectations. And such arguments are being heard everywhere; letters and numerous calls to the editors testify to this. The range of opinions and assessments is extremely broad, as were the very discussions at the tribune of the congress and in the lobbies. But let us not forget that the first impressions are probably far from profound and fully objective; many people's first impressions were colored by a splash of emotions, the sympathies or antipathies toward the orator speaking, our adherence to this or that concept. Therefore, let us not make haste with conclusions. We still have a great deal to understand and comprehend while reading the material of the congress and its main resolution, which is yet to be published. There, in this summary document, the fundamental problems of the country's modern development are represented, its priorities are defined, and the concept of the resolution of the complex socio-economic tasks and social-political problems before us are formulated. Thus, we will still have the opportunity to evaluate more fully and in depth everything which the USSR people's deputies managed to decide during the initial phase of their work.

But even today, it seems, we have full grounds to say that the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies has brought us to a new, substantially higher level of democratization; it embodies and ensures a breakthrough to society's new qualitative condition.

Really, is it not significant that in fact the entire country spoke from the tribune of the congress, in full voice, openly and freely? There resounded diversity of opinions and approaches to the most acute problems of modern times; claims and demands were openly voiced toward the highest levels of power, and specific individuals entrusted with this power. We somehow become accustomed to such transformations unnoticed; they soon become the norm and cease to excite our imagination. Well, so they say, that is how it must be in a civilized society! Yes, of course, that is how it must be for us as well, for in this is the essence of socialist democracy as Lenin understood it. But after all, there is no getting away from the historical fact that this was not how it was for us; for many long years and decades, this is not how it was. The era of the cult and stagnation cast such an evil shadow on the bright Leninist idea of people's power that there could be no question of genuine democracy. The declarative nature, the formalism, and the dominance of the command-administrative system stunned our entire state and public life, perverting the nature of relations between the people and authority, painfully striking the vital activities of the party and its authority. April 1985 was needed, the 27th party congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference were needed in order to decisively turn away from authoritarianism to real rather than proclaimed people's power.

The first USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the first deputies elected primarily on an alternative basis, is a new, decisive step in this direction. And even if restructuring is not fully empowered in every corner of the country, even if in many places and many spheres the bastions of zealots of bureaucratic autocracy are holding strong, events such as our general congress are a true guarantee that they will crumble under the pressure of the new revolutionary forces aroused by the call signs of restructuring.

For all of us, this congress became a school of democracy, a school of maturation and of reaching manhood. The congress allowed us to fully understand that renewal is taking place, and will be brought to its conclusion throughout the country, in each region, in each city and village, village soviet, and collective, not by someone deigning it, but through the united will and persistent actions of all those who hold dear the idea of restructuring. And this is already a lesson for each of us.

We came to the first congress with many acute economic, social, administrative, legal, interethnic, moral, and other problems, and it is completely natural that they splashed over the congress tribune. The concerns and hopes of the voters are the main concerns of the people's deputies. Their desire to place all of these problems in the center of public attention right here at the first congress and reach their cardinal resolution is understandable. Well, the congress did not leave them indifferent. But we will be realists. Not all of the sore points are cured with a single wave of the hand; not all of the hotbeds of tension are eliminated. It is important that the highest forum of people's deputies set about developing conceptual solutions for the most important issues troubling society through comparison of opinions and discussion.

The formation of the higher organs of state power has been completed. The Supreme Soviet has been elected; it consists of two equal chambers, the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities; their structure has been determined, and the issue of the leaders of the legislative and executive organs has been resolved. And if once again we see in the highest state posts M.S. Gorbachev, with whose name the party's course toward restructuring is inseparably linked, and N.I. Ryzhkov, an ardent and competent adherent to this course, we also see in this fact the people's approval and support of the policy of society's renewal. Yes, and the tactical methods for solving urgent problems must be more precisely defined; yes, and we would like to accelerate the pace of overcoming crisis phenomena—this was all openly discussed at the congress. But the "green light" has been given to the strategy of restructuring itself, to the basic trends of USSR domestic and foreign policy, as well as to the program of the impending activity of the country's supreme legislative organs and government.

The barometer of social development, as the Congress of People's Deputies became during those days, clearly showed that the wave of renewal awakening the country is gaining strength. People are more frequently realizing that restructuring is our fate, our historical opportunity, which we cannot, which we have no right to miss. From this we will have an extremely veracious and frank analysis of how we are conducting restructuring, what it has already brought us, where and why it has not justified itself, what difficulties and problems have arisen, and where. And in spite of the fact that several concrete figures have been named which address the acceleration in the construction of housing, schools, hospitals, and kindergartens, and the growth in profit, labor productivity, and wages, no one, neither the speakers themselves nor their audience, took comfort in these figures.

The issues have been pointedly and directly raised. Why is the country coming out of the economic crisis slowly? Why are the adopted law on state enterprises and cooperatives, and the Decree on Leases, not working as well as they should? For what reason does the course toward economic methods of administration so timidly squeeze past the obstacles placed in its path by the command-administrative system? What are the sources of the exacerbation of the shortages of goods, imbalances in finances, and the social tension in society?

In boldly laying bare the nature of the processes taking place, and in revealing the deep causes of negative phenomena, the congress concentrated its attention on the determination of strategic directions for the restructuring of our entire economic organism, and at the same time, on the development of concrete urgent and extraordinary tactical measures which will be expected to solve glaring problems. The idea of the need for decisive reorientation toward social problems of the country's entire economy resounded with particular force at the congress. For decades we evaluated our society's development through a prism of the quantitative indices characterizing such branches as oil and coal extraction, pig iron and steel casting, tractor production, and growth in planted area. The main ultimate meaning of any production—the actual fulfillment of man's material and spiritual needs—disappeared and was lost among these indexes. It can be said that production functioned in and of itself. The situation with foodstuffs and other consumer goods was exacerbated, as was the area of health, pension provision, and protection of mothers and children. Almost 40 million people in the country are below the poverty line.

The congress discussed very attentively the program it was presented for economic recovery, an exit from the crisis situation, and an early resolution of social problems. Agriculture and the entire agro-industrial complex are assigned a special role in the implementation of this program.

The voices of the people's deputies representing the interests of our many millions of peasants resounded weightily from the tribune of the congress. Several times during breaks between sessions, they gathered to deeply analyze the existing situation, to express their common concern over the chronic lagging of agriculture, to inform the deputies of the accumulated misfortunes of the peasantry, and to demand that the entire economy be turned decisively toward the needs of the village. Their addresses to the congress are the result of these discussions.

This document states, "All of our proposals can essentially be reduced to one—peasant labor must be made the most prestigious and respected, as it is in all the developed countries of the world. The peasant must occupy a worthy position in our society. It would be in the interests of all society if the government changed its attitude toward the peasantry as a class. It is necessary to equalize the peasantry with workers and employees in the economic, social, and juridicial plan, without any exception...."

The appeal of the deputy-agricultural specialists elicited an animated response at the congress; the speeches of a number of orators rang out in unison with them, and their appeal found its reflection in the government's program of activity. They were not simply speaking of methods for solving the acute problems of the country's food supply or of changing the investment policy to favor the APK [agro-industrial complex]; the peasantry has already had more than its fill of such intentions. The issue was put more precisely and in greater depth: Man is placed at the center of attention; the property relationship of the village and the tasks of the orderly realization of the idea of the March (1989) CPSU Central Committee Plenum are moved to the foreground, granting the peasants the opportunity to farm independently, on the basis of various forms of ownership and allocation of the land and other production resources, without urging and commands.

From the government program presented, it becomes clear that the need to provide principally new approaches to the social development of the village has been acknowledged. In the coming years, many painful problems must finally be solved; people in the village have spoken of them bitterly for many decades. Starting 1 January of next year—that is, before the new law on pensions takes effect—an increase to R70 per month for the minimum pension level is planned not only for workers and employees, but also for kolkhoz [collective farm] workers, thus ending a scandalous social injustice which had placed the peasantry in an unequal, humiliating position. A number of concrete measures have been determined for village housing and road construction; opportunities are being sought for a sharp increase in the level of natural gas delivery and electrification of rural settlements.

It would be unforgivably complacent to assume that all these state plans will be turned into reality simply and easily. The village toilers, as they say, are up to their ears in alluring promises, plans, and programs. How many of them have "gone down the drain" in spite of enormous multibillion expenditures! Material investments, considerable ones, are, of course, needed now as well. There is no getting along without them. But all the same, the idea clearly resounded at the congress that the main thing is to create such an economic, legal, and moral-psychological atmosphere as would define the firm place of the peasant in society and life, and open for him the opportunity to become an owner without any exceptions. There has been enough of trying to instill in him a feeling of ownership, as was done before. If a person does not, in fact, become an owner, then no sermon or even economic stimulus can "reeducate" him. Uniting labor and ownership—this is what the people's deputies-agricultural specialists demanded. And our society, state, and Soviet power are obligated to finally acknowledge this to the fullest extent, to remove the barriers on this path, to spare the peasantry the pressure of the command-administrative apparatus, and to do away with the inequitable exchange of goods between the industrial and agricultural economy. Only this, and no other way!

We are all disturbed, even depressed at times, that the wheel of restructuring is still moving forward too slowly, squeaking, that we haven't really noticed any actual results in everyday life for the time being, and that in some things, a retreat from previous positions has even been permitted. Well, we will not pass off what is desirable for reality. Realism is a feature of our time. For the time being, we will not weigh out restructuring as extra victuals on the table, or additional goods or services.

Nor did the congress add to our material sufficiency. Its virtue is elsewhere; it brought us to a new level of self-management and democracy; it ruptured the obedient mechanics of voting, for the deputies in fact ceased to be henchmen of the apparatus; they felt behind their backs the mighty support and will of the millions who delegated them to the summit of government. The congress put the hierarchy of power in its place while smashing ossified administrative dogma and cutting off the apparatus' attempts to decide for the empowered representatives of the people and working out its own particular style. The first USSR Congress of People's Deputies is an object lesson in civic responsibility, an example for all of us who must move restructuring forward.

There is no need to idealize this unprecedented forum. Not everything went without a hitch, without excessive bursts of temper, without the lack of desire or the incapacity to understand opponents. We are still just learning democracy; we have gotten to the "A's" of parliamentarianism. But true, it is better that our revolutionary intolerance be poured out in excess at the congress than that some sort of somnambulant indifference be maintained. As they say, the culture of parliamentary discussion will come, and we will master it. What is more important for all of us now is to actively accept the revolutionary spirit of the congress, and to fortify the program of action for concrete work in all spheres, as developed by the deputies.

Democracy lives not only in words, but first and foremost in deeds. It fills restructuring's sails only if it does not let itself get led into the bog of poor discipline and a free-for-all. Democracy needs a high level of responsibility and discipline; self-management is unthinkable without organization and a collectively developed system. Acting in a business-like manner, overcoming our own passivity and irresponsibility, we can and will achieve the formation of a new culture of life, the formation of new values equally necessary to the individual and society in its entirety.

The congress helped us recognize a simple truth: There cannot be a prosperous society where man's needs are not met. We saw more fully that these correctly understood human needs and interests must be in the foreground of the activities of society and state, in the entire internal and foreign policy of the party. And in turn, the practical realization of this policy is the cause of every citizen, of each of us. In the profound realization of this simple truth lies society's strength and wealth, the pledge of its ascending development.

Congress Seen as 'Important First Step'

18001227 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Jun 89 pp 1-2

[Article by Fedor Burlatskiy: "Notes of a Deputy—A First, but Important Step"]

[Text] So, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies has finished its work. The real scale of this event will come into our full view only after some time has passed. However, even today, it seems to me, it is possible to talk about a turning point in the development of our public life, and about an important step along the path of political reforms. It is on these reforms, planned but not yet implemented, on which I would like to dwell at length, using as an outline my speech that I did not give at the congress, and also post-congress impressions from meetings with voters, and my reflections on the letters and telegrams that they sent.

The word crisis was heard more than once at the congress. We have stopped being afraid of this word. For a crisis, as a rule, is not a precursor to a crash and a signal to search for new solutions. One must only answer the question as to what the nature of the crisis is that we are experiencing. It is not a crisis of restructuring, and it is especially not a crisis of the political leadership that launched restructuring. It is a crisis of that model of socialism which we received from the past, starting from "war communism," Stalinist totalitarianism, and the Brezhnev administrative-command system. Not a crisis of socialism in general, but of one of its forms, which we believed in and created with such sincerity—state bureaucratic socialism.

We have still not rejected the view: the richer and mightier the state, the richer and more powerful the people, and the better they live. A collection of statistics presented to the congress mentioned that more than two-thirds of the national wealth is in the hands of the state. But what do the people have? People who come to half-empty stores, people who do not have enough housing, or who receive 100, 50, and even 30 rubles as a pension?

And the state itself: If it became so wealthy, then why does it remain so poor? Why is it short of everything? Where did the 9 percent state debt come from—more than in the United States? Why is our budget on the point of collapse? Why is it that there is no hard currency, and that the money is not money with which you can buy something? Why are huge sums being spent on weapons, which are later destroyed, on the purchase of grain abroad, which is eaten up, on weapons, which quickly become obsolete, and on incomplete construction jobs?

These are the kinds of questions that hovered over the meetings in the auditorium. And the problem is not whether answers were or were not given to them. The main thing, in my opinion, is to understand what has long been understood in civilized countries: The wealth of the people is formed first and foremost from the property of each, and the freedom of all is made up of the freedom of each. Our revolutionary forbears strongly overdid it when they removed private property. At first they took it away from landowners and capitalists. And this was right. Afterwards they took the land from the peasants, the plants from the workers, and the printing presses from the intelligentsia. And this was wrong. What is worse, this led to the total dependence of the individual on the state. The state began to define everything: who should work where, how much was to be paid, and where, and even with whom, to live. The individual more and more became that about which Stalin dreamed: a cog in a gigantic state wheel, and frequently an object of unjust coercion and state exploitation.

But an individual is an individual, after all! He did not agree to become a cog, and he wanted to remain a human being—if not the center of the universe, then not on the far-out periphery either. And he, that person, responded to the state—with careless work, drunkenness, theft, and social apathy. Here is where the root of stagnation is!

But now we have run into a new phenomenon. Our state, which seemed so mighty—the Armed Forces, security organs, militia, and the state and party apparatus—frequently turns out to be helpless in the face of national and political crises which, like brushwood, flare up here and there: in Nagorno-Karabakh, in Stepanakert, in Tbilisi, in Fergana, in many hot spots of the country.

What is the matter? The fact is that the mutual relations between the state and the citizenry are radically distorted. Speaking more plainly, the state saddled itself with the kind of functions which it is not in a condition to execute, and which society itself should take on in the form of such of its institutions as the labor collective, the family, and the citizen.

Incidentally, not only we, not only the countries of socialism, not only the developing countries of a so-called socialist orientation, but also countries of the West are drawing this historical lesson of the 20th century. The state can do a lot, but it is extremely dangerous when it makes claims to everything: property, authority, and control over society and the individual. Fascism showed the most extreme point of this tendency. Social-democratism, for example, in such countries as Sweden, Austria, France, and England, showed its minimal limits. Is it really accidental that a process is now going on in these countries to denationalize the economy?

What can the state do and not do? We will look at this calmly in the light of current experience. The state can provide security inside and outside the country. The state can protect the poor strata, unfortunate groups, small ethnic groups, and better or worse, the rights and freedoms of the individual; it can rescue society from excessive differences in incomes, and provide for a minimum living standard. It is in a position to promote or oppose the development of productive forces. But it cannot, and it is not in a condition to manage the economy directly, and especially the development of culture, ethics, and morality. This is a function of the citizenry itself. This is the main lesson of the history of Soviet authority and of world history.

What comes out of this for the restructuring of our political system? We must execute, step by step, firmly and gradually, a transition from a state-bureaucratic to a democratic, humane, and civil socialist society. This in equal measure affects property, authority, and the role of political institutions, and the position of the individual. This means that our state should transfer to the citizenry not less than two-thirds of the functions they used to fulfill in the form of collectives, cooperatives, and family and individual farms. Decentralization will become the basis both for the resolution of problems of strengthening economic independence of the republics, and for the development of the federation.

This does not in the slightest denote a weakening of the state. On the contrary, after ridding itself of functions that are alien to it, it will be able to concentrate on the main problems: ensuring the security of the entire society and every citizen, fulfilling the program of social development, bettering the situation of the least-provided-for strata of the population, improving ethnic relations and developing integration, and, of course, generally adjusting the entire economic and cultural life of the country.

This is the visible objective. And what are the stages on the way to its achievement?

About the first stage of democratization. Much has already been done, but a lot has yet to be done in order to complete this stage. The main thing that has been done is the USSR Congress of People's Deputies itself, with its new democratic spirit, which expresses not only a pluralism of opinions, but all of the diversity and contradictions of the interests of all sections and groups, all republics and regions, and all ethnic groups. We have for the first time received a political mould, a mirror of our social organism. New institutions of authority have been formed that we did not have before.

Soviet parliamentarianism is embodied not only in the USSR Supreme Soviet, but also in the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, which undoubtedly has been granted parliamentary functions: ratification of the Constitution and other constitutional laws, the formation of the higher organs of authority, the Supreme Soviet itself, and its chairman, and confirmation of the government and other officials. The most important function of the USSR Supreme Soviet, as in all parliaments of the world, becomes the budget, laws, and control over the government.

Not only are members of the USSR Supreme Soviet parliamentarians, but so are all other people's deputies of the USSR. This is especially true because a large part of the deputies are already on committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its chambers, and many will enter by way of rotation to the Supreme Soviet. This is why the demand for a definition of the status of a deputy was heard with such force in many of the speeches at the congress. Therefore, it is very important to the future meeting of the congress to prepare a "Statute" on the USSR Congress of People's Deputies concerning their status, the functions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its committees and commissions, procedures, and the mutual relations between representative and executive organs.

One of the delegates was offended when I remarked that the parliament differs from a collective farm [kolkhoz] meeting. What did I have in mind? In pattern and procedure, the parliament is a unique institution, and it differs from the party meeting and even from the party congress. First, the status of a deputy is special, and no one else has this status. This is the status of a people's representative who not only has the indisputable right, but who is duty bound to express his opinion and the opinion of his constituents in the consideration of questions. Second, in contrast to meetings of another type, in the USSR Supreme Soviet the majority does not have a right to interrupt a speaker, to stamp their feet and, what is more, to pound a shoe on the table, as Khrushchev did at the UN. All that is necessary is to come to an agreement beforehand about the procedure for speaking, and that is because it is not yet stipulated by law. Third, there is a special ethics in the relations between deputies: When criticizing one or another position, it is discourteous to attack someone personally. It is important for all of us who do not have the experience of parliamentarianism to overcome the legacy of our patriarchical political culture, where the head of a family speaks as a master, and the members of the family hush each other to please him.

The question about alternative elections of all officials evoked, it seems, mostly discussions at the congress and at the meetings of the USSR Supreme Soviet. And so it remained not fully clarified, and needs special consideration, because the alternative principle is not simply a legal formality, and, of course, it is not a game. The alternative concept itself presupposes a proximity of "weight categories" of the competitors.

The question comes up about the election of other high officials in the state. Here our Constitution clearly distributes rights between the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the parliament itself. The chairman is granted the right to propose his own candidates, but the parliament has the right to withdraw them at its own discretion. Why? Because the chairman works with them, and he bears full responsibility for his and their activity before the parliament. If his proposed "team" works poorly, they will not be elected again, or they can be recalled on the demand of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Many of the deputies were puzzled that this principle was interpreted too broadly at the meetings of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It would seem to me, for example, that the candidacies of the chairmen of the committees and the commissions should first be considered at meetings of these committees and commissions, and that only after this should they be nominated for confirmation by the chambers and the full USSR Supreme Soviet. One way or another, the problem of alternative elections exists, and it will have to be returned to more than once.

A decision on the question of the cabinet of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in my opinion, should conclude the first stage of democratization. What is the essence of the problem? The essence is that up until now the USSR Council of Ministers has been concentrating its activity on the questions of economic, social, and cultural development. That is the way it was previously, and that is the way it remains now. Therefore, the question arises on what kind of an institution should decide operational questions of foreign and domestic policy. By tradition, higher party organs on the whole determine strategy here, but what is to be done with the innumerable current political decisions? Hot spots in the world and inside the country more and more persistently demand a new approach.

There is also another side to this problem. Our ministers, who are occupied with problems of foreign policy, defense, security, and domestic affairs, have remained virtually outside the sphere of control of the people's deputies and the organs that unite them. These are the reasons. But here is the essence of the proposal.

In my opinion, it could have been possible to consider the question about the formation of a cabinet of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which could consist of the first deputy to the chairman, the ministers of foreign and internal affairs and defense, the chairman of the USSR KGB, the chairmen of committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet for international affairs, defense, and state security, and also some other statesmen. The cabinet could have been entrusted with the resolution of current political questions. Some part of these questions, in those cases where a new law is necessary, will be reviewed in the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and at its meetings.

Several words about the next stage of politifal reform. This stage includes a number of key problems that have already been presented at the congress: the sovereignty of the republics, the position of all ethnic groups, and a new type of federation; and the economic, social, civil, and political freedom of citizens, and other matters. I will dwell briefly on some fundamental questions.

I am profoundly confident that it is necessary to create a new type of a genuinely voluntary Leninist federation. Two principles form its foundation (not one): the sovereignty of the republics, and the integration of all interests that are common to everyone. In satisfying the true interests—economic, cultural, linguistic, demographic, and ecological—of each republic, each region, and each ethnic group, no one will want to withdraw from the Union. How to do this is a very complicated, multiplane, and sharp question. After the preparation of the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on these questions, there will be a need for more than one meeting of the Congress of People's Deputies, its committees and commissions, and there will be a need for new constitutional laws. In a word, there is a need for genuinely innovative work that is based on a search, and inevitable compromise.

The most powerful appeal that rang out at the congress was the call for independence. For the independence of the republics, individual regions, ethnic groups that do not constitute a republic, the independence of enterprises, kolkhozes, state farms [sovkhozes], and local authority. All of this, unquestionably, is necessary and just. This is a natural reaction to supercentralism, bureaucratism, and harsh departmental control. It would be a gross error to speak out against this overall requirement. But it would be no less an error not to encompass the entire edifice of our system as a whole, and not to think about restructuring at all of its levels—upper, middle, and lower. And it would be an especially unforgivable error in our epoch to ignore the no less necessary natural requirement of integration. Yugoslavia took exactly this path of reform, about which many dream, and got into a dead end: inflation, debts, unemployment, increasing inequality of the republics, and ethnic tension. Well, my Yugoslavian friends will forgive me, but it seems to me that they transferred to the republics and the localities the same ailments which the center suffered from earlier: bureaucratism, separatism, and ethnic egoism.

What the new type of federation should be like is a big and very difficult question that requires serious searching, discussions for the coordination of interests, and the prevention of the elements of disintegration of our Union.

Second is the broadening of the economic, social, civil, and political rights of the citizens. Heated arguments with respect to cooperatives are going on at the congress and beyond its environs. Some comrades came out for strengthening the kolkhozes that were created by Stalin, and others were for a return to the Leninist idea of cooperatives. A law is now being prepared on leases. This is good, but it is not enough. For several years, publicists, including me, have been putting forward the question regarding the law about land. A number of delegates came out for this idea at the congress.

It is necessary to return to the sources of the revolution, and transfer the land for use in perpetuity (retaining state property on it) to those who want to work it in a form that suits them—a family farm, a small cooperative, a kolkhoz or a goskhoz [state farm]. Let 20-30 percent of the peasantry avail themselves of a family farm—this is enough, because in the United States the farmers (only 2.5 percent of the population) feed the whole country and still sell us grain. This is why new technology (transport, refrigerators, seeds, pedigree cattle, etc.), obtained on credit and on the basis of joint projects with foreign partners, must be directed first of all to the agrarian sector.

Politics is a choice. Lenin made a choice in favor of cccoperatives, Stalin a choice in favor of collectivization, and we made one in favor of the family farm and small voluntary cooperatives, of course not wrecking the kolkhozes and sovkhozes that are working well.

The family farm even defeated the capitalist monopoly. Unquestionably, it is more effective than our state monopoly in the village. It is necessary to give preference to the family farm inside and outside the boundaries of the kolkhoz, to allocate good land, to allot it in perpetuity to families, to give credit and building materials, and to make contacts with foreign firms to receive modern technology.

I am also deeply convinced that we have to promote the development of a pluralistic economy, where, along with key state sectors, there will be a strong cooperative, family, and individual sectors, especially in the area of services—servicing television sets, motor vehicles, retail trade, etc. The experience of Hungary and the GDR, and Poland and China, showed that the socialist heaven does not collapse as a result of this.

In the course of several years in China, 800 million peasants went over to the family contract. As a result, the production of agricultural products grew by more than one-third, and the standard of living rose threefold. More than 100 million persons made up the sector of industrial cooperatives in the villages. Individual farming began to occupy the main spot in retail trade. All society only won from this.

The liberation of labor and the emancipation of the economy is one and probably the main side of structural reform. The other is civil and political rights and freedom. Who made the judgment that a worker, a peasant, an intellectual, living somewhere there in the West, can travel to any country to work or to rest, but that this was forbidden in our country? Who said or proved that socialism is isolation of the Soviet individual from the multicolored world? An end has to be put to this once and for all. Under the tsars, more than four times as many people left for the West as do now, under conditions of present-day transportation, when more than 100 million—whole nations—travel for relaxation in the summer to West Europe alone.

The payment for isolation is that we do not have, or almost do not have, a modern type of worker who is adequate to the needs of the technological revolution—nor a skilled, energetic farmer, nor an inventive, disciplined worker, nor a highly competent intellectual. Not to mention the poverty of the spiritual existence of a person who has not seen the Louvre in Paris, the Prado in Madrid, the Roman Coliseum, or the British Museum, which is located just 4 hours' flight time from Moscow.

The laws in the sphere of civil and political life, which should be brought into full conformity with the Vienna agreement, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, have a special significance. Up to the present time, a large gap has been maintained between a clearly expressed policy and the laws that are being applied.

It seems that a general opinion has solidified at the congress that it is necessary to radically change the practice of preparing drafts of laws, and that they should be prepared by parliamentarians in committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, involving in this extremely important matter the USSR people's deputies, scholars, and representatives of social organizations and, of course, of the departments.

So, the congress is over. The first but important step to public authority has been taken. In the direction of the sovereignty of the people.

Congress Called 'Headquarters' of Restructuring

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15 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Mikhail Krushinskiy article: "The Congress and Economic Reform"]

[Text] Was much said at the congress about the situation in the national economy? The first impression is that a very great deal was said. Virtually every speaker, fulfilling the mandates of his voters, talked about the difficulties encountered by people in various regions and by the representatives of various social and professional groups. No particular differences of opinion were apparent in this respect—which cannot be said of the discussions about some political and ethnic issues.

But the number of economic speeches declines sharply if we count only those which systematically analyzed the situation in the country and examined such fundamental components of the economic mechanism as, say, forms of ownership, the plan and the market, and finances. These speeches, whose authors did not confine themselves to just establishing facts and did not reduce things to demands—frequently naive—to immediately increase allocations for the development of a particular sphere (territory), put forward economically valid ideas for pulling the country out of its crisis. Once we have pinpointed the speeches of this kind delivered at the congress, we will, first of all, realize that there were not actually so many of them. Second, we will find quite substantial differences in approach to the issue in question.

Of course, there is no question of any antagonism here. Everyone stressed their commitment to restructuring and no one questioned the correctness of the policy of radical economic reform. Discord only arose when people got onto the question of the time scale for implementing the reform and... how radical that reform should be. For example, some people believe that the country has now begun to emerge from the crisis, albeit slowly, while others think that it is sinking ever deeper into it and that everything done so far is purely cosmetic. According to one view, the problem of the budget deficit and general financial improvement could be resolved perfectly well in stages, part of it even in the next 5-year period, while others are convinced that time is not on our side and that, without taking decisive measures, we run the risk of facing complete economic collapse in the next 2-3 years.

These two outlines show the amplitude of the debate that flared up at the congress. I will not be giving away any secrets if I tell you the names of the people taking the different views. The relatively calm view of things is best reflected in the report "On the Program of Future Activity of the USSR Government," presented by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. His direct opponents at the congress were Doctor of Economic Sciences N.P. Shmele Doctor of Economic Sciences G.Kh. Popov, and also P.G. Bunich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who spoke earlier. But it would be a mistake to reduce the entire discussion to confrontation between the head of government and group of Moscow academics. Remember, for example, the incisive analysis presented by N.A. Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh Council of Ministers. Or the appeal signed by 417 agrarian worker deputies—that "cry from the Russian soil," as someone described it. After all, they not only contained emotion but also a very acute analysis of the problems now facing agriculture and the whole of the economy....

So who is right? The fate of restructuring depends on a quick, accurate answer to this question—what is more, the kind of answer that would straighten out the contradictions as far as possible and perhaps even take a lenient attitude to some of the traditional social fallacies. The argument is, after all, not concerned with pretentious theoretical novelties, as the decisions made will have a direct impact on the lives of millions of people. But life has a habit of breaking through the limits of theory.

For example, from a theoretical standpoint it is hard not to agree with the theory put forward at the congress by K.D.P. Prunskene from Lithuania: "It is better to live well, in different ways, than for everyone to live equally badly." A formula that fully applies to economic units not only of the union republics, but also of individual oblasts, as well as industrial and agrarian enterprises and private citizens. In practice, however, the leveling ideology, which possibly has its roots not even in the administrative decades but in the hoary centuries of the Russian peasant communes, continues to determine the outlook of many. Unfortunately, this cannot be ignored.

At the congress, leveling trends were particularly apparent in deputies' attitudes to cooperatives: first, scant mention was made of this phenomenon—so new and important to us, and second, what was said was not always just. An attempt was even made—thankfully refuted by the specialists—to make the cooperatives responsible for the present financial crisis. In one speech someone expressed the idea that cooperatives pay the treasury only "symbolic" tax in comparison to state enterprises and are therefore a burden on the state sector. Unfortunately, no one took the rostrum to clear up this misunderstanding.

Without going into details, I will explain: State enterprises make their budget payments on the basis of their profits, while cooperatives make their contribution on the basis of their income. The second differs from the first by the fact that it includes the labor remuneration fund (which, incidentally, is the source of the problem of dual taxation for cooperative members' personal wages, but that is another matter). I think it is clear that income is a much larger quantity than profit, and so 10 percent of income is approximately equivalent to 40 percent of profit. This numerical difference is the source of the myth about tax inequality for the two sectors of the economy. As for the 3 percent tax which the deputy addressing the congress "envied," this is a privilege conferred on cooperatives only for the period that they are getting established.

Evidently, there is a minimum amount of time needed for society to accept any serious innovation. It is hard to reduce this amount of time, even under pressure from extreme material need. And the "coefficient" of our receptiveness is still not very high, as the inertia of stereotypes clutches at our feet worse than any bureaucrat, although our salvation from the chains of inflation now depends to an enormous extent on the masses' readiness to accept things unfamiliar to them. What should we do in these conditions? I think we should explain the fundamentals of economics to people and... not be too quick to batten down the hatches.

People said at the congress that we really should reduce the number of new industrial projects! Everyone rightly sees this as one of the main measures to counter inflation. But, for some reason, no one risked wondering out loud what would happen to the people working on these projects; where would they go? One thing is clear, however: The rapid reorientation of millions of working people from socially useless activity to something useful will inevitably bring a period when they are not fully employed. And the more rigorously we perform this operation, the more painful it could prove to be. In principle, however, we cannot manage without this operation, and it would be dangerous to delay for too long. There appears to be a conflict arising between economic and social tasks and between society's long-term and immediate interests. The real wisdom now expected of the highest body of state authority lies in an accurate choice of direction.

In getting rid of thousands of unnecessary projects, it is even more important not to allow ourselves to be drawn into new ones. A broad discussion about the advisability of creating petroleum refining complexes in Western Siberia at a cost of tens of billions of rubles (the "Tyumen project") has recently been conducted in the press, IZVESTIYA included. The discussion spilled over to the congress rostrum. Answering deputies' criticism, the head of government gave what are obviously perfectly reasonable arguments on the technical merits of the project in his closing speech. The main question, however, remained unasked: Is this the most relevant venture at present, when money is so urgently needed for more generous pensions; for material support for invalids, orphans, and large families; for the needs of culture, education, and public health care; and finally, for the housing program?...

It is now perhaps more necessary than ever before to use the ruble to very strictly control all investment activity. At the level of enterprises gaining independence, this could be done by any creditor bank—whether special, sectoral, or cooperative. The main point here is to fundamentally reject the budget financing of new production projects. And at the government level? Who should be responsible for the effectiveness of state capital investments and stand in the way of "projects of the century" which do not promise a rapid feedback? World experience tells us that this role should be filled by an independent state bank directly subordinate to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and answerable to it alone—that is, invested with the exclusive right to issue money. In a "rule-of-law economy," it is expected to fulfill approximately the same role as the Constitutional Court in a rule-of-law state. Deputies raised this idea, which has been "floated" for some time now. One would like to believe that it will not just be left hanging in the air.

Perhaps one of the main outcomes of the congress is that we have seen ourselves with hitherto unprecedented, really merciless clarity—in every sphere of life, including the economic sphere. The success of restructuring now depends on how soon our parliament will turn from being a mirror of people's life into a reliable, competent staff headquarters.

Akhromeyev, Yeltsin, Obolenskiy Interviewed

18001202 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 23, 10-16 Jun 89 pp 1, 2, 3

["Brief interviews" at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses with people's deputies A.S. Kapto, CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department Chief; Marshal of the Soviet Union S. Akhromevyev; Aleksin, metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod; B. Yeltsin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Construction and Architecture Questions; Composer R. Shchedrin; and A. Obolenskiy, engineer-designer at the Polar Geophysical Institute of the Kola Scientific Center, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY special correspondents N. Zhelnorova and L. Novikova: "On Behalf of the People"; dates of interviews not specified]

[Text]**On the days when the congress was working N. Zhelnorova and L. Novikova, special correspondents of AiF [ARGUMENTY I FAKTY], met with USSR people's deputies in the Kremlin and conducted brief interviews with them, which are published in this issue.**

A.S. KAPTO, chief of the ideology division of the CPSU Central Committee, member of the CPSU Central Committee.

[AiF] What did you expect from the congress?

[Kapto] I expected that the congress would be interesting in all respects both in content and in form. After all, they were to have discussed the broadest spectrum of problems: political, economic, interethnic relations. Of course, we have never before had a congress with such heated passions, freedom to express opinions, and level of discussion. This is indeed an immense political event in our history, an event which will also be of immense significance for subsequent stages of our development.

[AiF] But there are probably also a lot of minuses in the work of the congress.

[Kapto] I would not speak so much about minuses, although there undoubtedly are some, as about the experience we have not yet accumulated. We frequently do not have a sufficiently developed art of discussion; we do not have enough patience to listen to one another and hear one another out, and, the main thing, to search constructively. I think that in time we must get rid of this impatience because the people's deputies will have to make decisions, and in order to make the correct decision it is necessary to hear everything to the end, to weigh everything, and to think about everything.

In the second place, of course, not all issues are elucidated with the same depth. For example, questions of culture were raised with sufficient depth only in the speeches of D. Likhachev, Ch. Aytmatov, B. Oleynik, V. Belov, and V. Rasputin. Many of the speakers touched only on individual aspects, although in the nonmaterial sphere we have not accumulated a very large number of problems that require immediate solutions. Third, I expected that youth problems would be dealt with on a broader, more panoramic plane. This subject is close to me, since I was previously very involved in it. Individual aspects, true, were raised at the congress, but the entire complex of youth problems with an eye to the future, i.e. what must be resolved, was not reflected sufficiently.

[AiF] Aleksandr Semenovich, does it seem to you that there were a very large number of attacks on the party? Why?

[Kapto] The question is asked correctly. Many people here at the congress have noted that the party began restructuring, that it was the initiator, and it felt very keenly the need for radical changes both in the spheres of economics and politics and in the sphere of nonmaterial life. And it is a kind of paradox that some of the deputies are not only displaying a lack of understanding of the question, but are making attacks that are undeserved in all respects. And now when we need consolidation of the society as never before, every participant in restructuring should pay attention to this. For such attacks are a blow to restructuring.

[AiF] But why do party workers not defend themselves, if one may put it that way; why do they not speak?

[Kapto] Some of them have spoken. I think there will be more speeches as well, but the essence of the problem is not only that. I think that the party must defend itself with deeds, by increasing its authority. For it is possible to solve all of the problems that were heard at the congress today only if the party integrates the efforts of the entire society—party and nonparty members, the intelligentsia, the working class, and the peasantry.

[AiF] You were elected to the Soviet of Nationalities. How will you work? After all, you have a "heavy portfolio."

[Kapto] I want to make my contribution to the work of the Soviet of Nationalities to the extent of my strength, ability, and experience. I expect that in the commissions and committees as well as in the congress there will be no formalism, but rather a spirit of discussion, a spirit of search for new solutions to pressing problems. Therefore I simply cannot stand to the side of these problems, and I shall dive into this work with readiness and a great deal of willingness, and do what is given to me to do.

S. AKHROMEVYEV, marshal of the Soviet Union, head military consultant under the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, member of the CPSU Central Committee.

[AiF] Why, in your opinion, have people been heaping abuse on the Army recently?

[Akhromeyev] I would not say that they have been heaping abuse on us. Yes, there is criticism of the Army; it is largely justified, and we have not become used to it because previously there was none, although this is a normal phenomenon. I am more bothered by something else: People are getting the impression that under modern conditions the Army is becoming unnecessary. This is a great mistake.

[AiF] This question is raised frequently these days: Should the Army participate in dispersing rallies as it did in Tbilisi?

[Akhromeyev] In principle the Army should not participate in events that take place within the country and are related to ethnic dissension. But there are all kinds of situations. Now, for instance, in Azerbaijan, Armenia, and the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] there is a curfew, and it has saved many people from death. Everything depends on the specific conditions and on making sure that the Army's participation is intelligent and humane, however paradoxical that may be.

ALEKSIN, metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod.

[AiF] As a religious figure, what would you like to hear from the high podium?

[Aleksin] I do not think it possible to raise particular issues pertaining to religious associations and the church at the congress. This will be handled by a commission for legislation which will develop a law on freedom of conscience. I hope it will take this seriously, for here is where all our problems must be expressed. And the church has many problems. They include the adoption of new legislation concerning freedom of conscience and discriminatory taxation of the clergy and all workers in religious organizations. But these problems must be solved in a working environment, for a multitude of the most complicated problems are being raised at the congress.

B. YELTSIN, member of the CPSU Central Committee.

[AiF] How do you explain the differences of opinion among the deputies of the Moscow group?

[Yeltsin] It is as though the Moscow group were formed from two groups. Some of them took it upon themselves to get together and make the decision to prepare for the congress. They worked for a month and a half, leaving the doors open for everyone to come in and help, whether they had come from Kamchatka, the south, or the north. And indeed they did come and participate. Then they decided, to put it rudely, to take us under their roof, uniting all the deputies who live in Moscow. But 200 different interests came into contact and not everyone wanted to participate in the work. After all, it was not easy work, and sometimes it lasted until 10-12 o'clock at night. And the group was not working on Moscow problems alone; it was preparing drafts of all documents for the congress. Professional lawyers and economists were preparing them. We thought that the main thing was to answer to the people, to draw up a report, to discuss it, and only after that, to select the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. The same with all the others.

Our position was as follows: Elections should be conducted only from alternative candidacies—the Supreme Soviet, all commission chairmen, and so forth. Understandably, M.S. Gorbachev is the leader and he will win, but the Moscow group, for the sake of principle, left an alternative, although they knew that he would be defeated. But we wanted to create a precedent so that this would become the rule in the future.

[AiF] Tell me, do you like the composition of the new Supreme Soviet?

[Yeltsin] I cannot say that I like it or do not like it.... After all, the people voted for all the deputies and the people can recall them.

The very idea of concentrating a large amount of power in the hands of a few involves much responsibility. A person can be a good person today, but we do not know what he will become tomorrow. But he will always feel how the people react to his mistakes. If the people do not need a certain policy, if the people do not accept his decisions, they will let him know in a year. And this is very important, this is a form of very strict control, this is a mechanism which should preclude backsliding which, unfortunately, we have had in the past.

Let us count on that. We are witnesses to how quickly the people awaken and become democratized and how this process advances.

R. SHCHEDRIN, composer.

[AiF] We are now bitterly admitting that our political culture is on an extremely low level. And it is directly linked to our general culture. This needs to be discussed at the congress. What is your opinion?

[Shchedrin] Of course, our spirit and our soul are suffering: We have billions of questions, including questions about our musical culture.

But I wish to say that today political and economic questions are more important. I understand that this is all interconnected and that we cannot advance without culture either. But ultimately the construction of our state, which is now being created and which will ultimately resolve problems of culture as well, has now emerged in the foreground.

I think that up to this point the congress has been working on something that seems extremely important to me—a mechanism for advancement of new, talented, courageous, and uncompromising people.

[AiF] But the congress has already revealed many....

[Shchedrin] Yes, our country is rich in talented, good, intelligent, and articulate people. But I want them to do more than simply speak and then leave; they must influence our minds and hearts, our policy, and so forth.

[AiF] As it was explained to us, the only ones who advanced to the Supreme Soviet were those who have expressed a desire to work constantly. Have you nominated yourself as a candidate?

[Shchedrin] No, because I have contractual commitments.

[AiF] What do you think, is the Supreme Soviet that was elected strong....

[Shchedrin] No, and I have already discussed this. They have mainly chosen according to positions and work places, and not living people. Today, on the 10th day of the work of the congress, I could suggest and have suggested people like Travkin. Although they might have sharp edges and are not always easy to work with, they will not allow the bureaucrat to talk on endlessly or to sleep peacefully in the chambers. They will excite the people and sound the alarm when necessary.

A. OBOLENSKIY, engineer-designer of the Polar Geophysical Institute of the Kola Scientific Center, Apatita, Murmansk Oblast.

[AiF] When you nominated yourself for the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet, it sounded like thunder out of the blue.

[Obolenskiy] I disagree. Perhaps for many this was really unexpected, but not for everyone. This is not a childish decision but a well-thought-out, planned action. I have also discussed this in television debates which proceeded very actively and were broadcast on Leningrad television. And that was how it happened. The people have a very strong desire to have a choice, for there to be no less than two candidates for every position, for every post. This is also shown in sociological questionnaires. And this question was constantly being raised during the pre-election campaign. I was asked directly: If we chose you, what would you do to make the elections competitive? I answered: Comrades, I am just one person, and even if you elect me there will be 2,000 other deputies. But the people demanded a concrete answer. I said the only thing I could say—that I would submit my candidacy for the post of president as an alternative. No fundamental decision is required here; just my personal will.

Well, when this decision was made, as they say, everything else was a matter of footwork. At subsequent meetings people were already interested in whether or not it was true that I intended to put myself up for the post of head of state, and these questions were asked during the television debates as well. And since I had made my promise, I had to keep it.

This is the prehistory. But I have no complaints. The only thing I did not think about, did not guess, was the notoriety that came to me all of a sudden.

[AiF] But as a deputy this can probably only help you.

[Obolenskiy] I would like to believe that. But still, it is troublesome and difficult.

[AiF] Aleksandr Mitrofanovich, do you maintain contact with your constituents now, during the days when the congress is working?

[Obolenskiy] During the time of the congress I have received more than 500 telegrams and no fewer than 100 letters. Many of them are about my nomination.

[AiF] And what did they think about it?

[Obolenskiy] Approximately 1 percent do not approve and the rest of them support and understand the importance of the act. After all, this is the beginning of the elections, although my candidacy was not included on the list for secret voting.

[AiF] What are your further plans as people's deputy?

[Obolenskiy] Unfortunately, the information level at the congress is very low, and we are kept in ignorance of the compositions of the commissions and committees. I would like to work on the committee for legislation and legal procedure.

[AiF] Why? After all, you are a purely technical person

[Obolenskiy] Yes. But in our country the cutting edge o restructuring runs namely through the legislative sphere It is necessary to lay a foundation for a rule-of-law state for now we are practically without rights, and each bureaucrat does what he wishes. One can judge this even from the communications from my constituents who have already come to me. Many complain about the violations committed by law enforcement and judicia agencies. Of course, I understand that this is one point o view and it is also necessary to look at the other, and i is extremely difficult to figure all this out. But it i necessary. For example, it is strange to me that th Gdlyan-Ivanov affair was so "emphasized" especiall now. After all, all of our courts and procurators office are not without sin. Therefore, of course, everythin cannot run smoothly in the work of the given investigators. But still the main thing the commission should dea with is not the blunders of Gdlyan and Ivanov, but th accusations they made against the leaders, and then they can go on from there. It is naive to think that in 6 years people have not written about the investigatory group's exceeding its authority. Why then has the procurator's office remained silent about this? There are many questions here into which we must delve seriously and under calm circumstances. And it is incomprehensible why the congress takes this so lightly.

[AiF] But where will you begin your work?

[Obolenskiy] I have 3 million voters behind me. And still I do not think I can get by catering to local interests, for unless we solve the general problems, we cannot solve the particular ones.

In N.I. Ryzhkov's report we heard that we are raising the standard of living of approximately 22 million pensioners. But he also cited another figure—more than 40 million of us are living below the poverty level. Therefore we are not solving problems but patching up holes.

[AiF] And do you know the solution?

[Obolenskiy] The group of deputies prepared as a legislative initiative a plan for improving the conditions of the poor categories of the population. Having calculated the minimum standard of living, which is still a state secret here, beginning 1 January 1990, without waiting for pension legislation, we are suggesting paying the necessary additional amount for this minimum from the state budget.

[AiF] But will you manage to submit this proposal; after all, the congress is drawing to a close?

[Obolenskiy] Yes. They are trying to close the congress although we, for example, are against it. If we cannot speak, we shall submit our plan to the Supreme Soviet and let it decide whether to decline it or not. But we shall fight; this is why we were elected. We have a number of other suggestions, but we will discuss them in the future.

Editor Deputy Ponders Status of Supreme Soviet

PM1906082789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Jun 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by A. Ananyev, USSR people's deputy and chief editor of the journal OKTYABR, under the rubric "People's Deputy's Platform": "To Look People in the Eye"]

[Excerpt] Moscow—I was preparing to address the congress but like many other deputies I was not unfortunately given the floor. And yet the thoughts and feelings that I wanted to share still cause concern, and not in me alone.

On the threshold of the elections, particularly on the threshold of the congress, and then at the congress itself we called a great deal from many rostrums for the power of local soviets and of soviets in general at all levels to be strengthened, presenting the matter as though the power assumed by the people can be measured out in doses, reducing or increasing it. Here, out of a certain naivete, perhaps, I have always recalled some quite simple and unaffected words from the cartoon movie about Winnie the Pooh. One of the heroes of that movie—the funny little bear—holds an empty honey pot in front of himself, looks into it, and says: "If there is honey, then there is. If there is no honey, then there isn't."

When workers, peasants, and soldiers stormed the Winter Palace in October 1917, there was no question of measuring power out in doses. There was just one thing: "All power to the soviets!" But life, as we see, ordered itself differently, and as a result the people obtained not the power of the soviets but the monopoly power of the party—I even find difficulty in defining it more correctly—now known by the terms of "Stalinism" and "stagnation." And, despite glasnost, it seems to me that we are still far from knowing either the extent or the force of the pressure on social life of this monopoly power, which even today is still so strong that it is hardly possible to measure it with anything.

I do not want to be accused here of making "attacks on the party," as it might seem to some people. In his report at the congress M.S. Gorbachev said quite clearly that the party mistakenly assumed the right to lead the economy, and there is no need to comment on what this leadership did to the country. Of course we have achievements, and no one intends to deny them, but can they really be used to justify or cover up the overall dead-end situation? And if we have decided to take a serious look at things, we should raise the question not of criticizing particular shortcomings among us but of the historical responsibility to the people of leaders of all ranks and positions for the state of the country.

I do not know the theoretical explanation for this, but I remember as long as I have lived that there has always been a dyarchy in state management in our country, with a limited measuring out in one definite direction—toward the soviets. This phenomenon is not just abnormal but, as experience has shown, pernicious too. However, I reach this conclusion at the end of the congress: Not only are we not making progress toward eliminating this pernicious dyarchy (while intensively arguing all the time about a rule-of-law state) but we have also created a new "imbalance" by dividing (once again with a definite measuring out) power between the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies. For if the Congress of People's Deputies is to be considered the highest organ of power, is it lawful to raise the Supreme Soviet above it? Probably sensing that this did not quite hold water, M.S. Gorbachev considered it necessary to emphasize in his report that endowing Supreme Soviet deputies with special powers does not mean that this will belittle the role of people's deputies. But "powers" are one thing, while "does not mean" are just words hanging in the air.

At the congress a number of deputies voiced the opinion that a permanent organ—that is, the Supreme Soviet—must have executive significance, and since people's deputies—that is, representatives of the congress—are elected to this organ, accordingly this organ must be called the Soviet of Representatives, consisting of a house of representatives of the Soviet of the Union and a house of representatives of the Soviet of Nationalities. In this case, first, the word "supreme" is dropped together with the very idea of its members' special powers and, second, the rotation system will also be more justified. If such a statute were adopted, the title of the post of the head of state would also change. He is now chairman of the Supreme Soviet, whereas the supreme organ of power, which is what the congress is, does not have such a head. And so, whether we want this or not, it—that is, the congress—has virtually ended up a congress of electors. The president of the USSR must be the head of state, and it would be fair for him to be elected by the whole people.

This was the first thing I thought of prior to the congress, and I continue to think it now. [passage omitted]

Deputy Yarovoy Accused of Sabotaging Estonian Cause

PM2106081589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 7 Jun 89 p 2

[ETA correspondent L. Sher dispatch from Moscow on 5 June: "Strong Differentiation, Poor Integration"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The situation at the congress changes more quickly than the view from an express train window. Today at the congress the speeches of two deputies elected from Estonia, Klara Khallik and Vladimir Yarovoy, were heard practically one after the other.

There is no need to comment on the first speech. Although it was obvious that K. Khallik was nervous, she analyzed the situation precisely and logically and then expounded a constructive program, which, in the opinion of a number of people's deputies who are specialists in the sphere of international relations, deserves word for word reproduction in the final congress documents.

And now a few words about the background to V. Yarovoy's speech. Most probably (this is my personal opinion) it goes back to the meeting of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic people's deputies with M.S. Gorbachev. As you remember, one of the basic ideas which could be heard from the lips of our country's leader at this meeting was that all the republic's efforts can only come to fruition on condition that there is no discord and if peace and tranquility prevail there. The conclusion springs to mind logically by itself: To stop Estonian self-management from happening, to stop the re-evaluation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and anything else, you have to ruin the peace and aggravate the conflict, which has undoubtedly been provoked by objective conditions.

The situation began to be exacerbated yesterday, 5 June, when V. Yarovoy and Ye. Kogan left the hall where our delegation had met, after a majority voted to nominate V. Vare to the Supreme Soviet Defense and State Security Committee and not V. Yarovoy.

In the evening there was a meeting between Ye. Kogan and his companions V. Kiemets and V. Smolin and Muscovites at the Culture Center of the Moscow Aviation Institute, where arguments were put forward that had been expounded in the appeal to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies on "The Concept of Estonian Self-Management and the Future of the Russian-Speaking Population in Estonia," which was being passed around this morning at the congress at the request of Ye. Kogan, V. Yarovoy, I. Lyzo, and others (31 signatures all together) of whom no one apart from those three had anything to do with Estonia. However, the meeting was also attended by V. Palm and Yu. Aare, who were not invited by the official organizers of the meeting, the Moscow Aviation Institute party committee and the trade union committee. A discussion arose, during which every speaker had his supporters, but the majority were clearly not won over to Ye. Kogan's side. And the Muscovites clustered around us journalists, expressing a basic understanding of the aspirations which I. Toome spoke about at the congress.

I am well acquainted with the position of the International Movement and have been present at its congress, had discussions with its leaders, and understand the reasons and distortions which gave rise to the movement. But nevertheless I was struck, both at the congress and at this meeting, by their static position and disregard for the rapidly changing situation. And I was also struck by the fact that they based their point of view on documents and publications from the Stalin era, whose worth we now well know. And this is done by people who are proclaiming themselves to be opponents of Stalinism and supporters of democracy and restructuring! References are made, for example, to an item in the newspaper RAHVA HAAL and resolutions of the State Duma of Estonia from 1940, when not just the spirit but the physical presence of the notorious A.A. Zhdanov were still looming over Estonia.

A natural conclusion to this idea was the speech from the congress platform. It was scarcely intended for the hall, or just for the hall. Although it was also very important to sow the seeds of doubt there too. I think that at the moment the most important thing is to not rise to the bait and not risk both ideas and lives. Yes, there are disagreements, there are objective differences of interests. But if it was possible to agree with the Americans on seemingly insoluble problems, then surely we can reach an understanding and find a reasonable way of resolving the republic's internal problems, surely we cannot risk our lives and the lives of those close to us and everything that we have managed to achieve during the years of restructuring. That must not happen!

It looks as if nature in Moscow is sensitive to what is happening at the congress. During V. Yarovoy's speech it poured with rain and now the sun has come out through the clouds, and just at this moment G. Tynspoeg has come up to me and asked me to report information to the republic on the results of his talks with USSR Council of Ministers First Deputy Chairman Murakhovskiy. The issue at stake was selling agricultural equipment through the system of consumer cooperatives. As is well known, the cooperative sells this equipment to the peasant farms for double the wholesale price. So, Comrade Murakhovskiy gave instructions to the USSR State Planning Committee and other organs to urgently examine the discriminatory conditions of selling equipment to the peasants.

Lithuania's Brazauskas Interviewed on Congress 9 Jun

LD1606145489

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1300 GMT on 9 June broadcasts a telephone interview by its correspondent Benas Rupeika with Algirdas-Mikolas Kazevich Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. Brazauskas, who is speaking from Moscow during an interval in the Congress of People's Deputies, tells Rupeika that the Lithuanian delegation had "a friendly conversation with Comrade Gorbachev" that day, though he adds that "there was not much time, only a good half hour."

Brazauskas continues: "He listened to our ideas and thoughts very attentively. We not only spoke about issues concerning the Committee for the Supervision of the Constitution. We also discussed issues concerning Lithuania which we had been raising. He praised us saying that Lithuania and other Baltic republics have their own clear position, that the deputies arrived at the congress well prepared and knowing what they wanted. He also praised those who spoke at the discussions, among them Deputy Prunskine, who spoke yesterday.

In turn we explained why our delegation became so concerned and spoke about the Committee for the Supervision of the Constitution in such a way. He listened to our proposals and ideas, and although I do not want to predict events, I am convinced that this committee will not be set up today."

Brazauskas also speaks about the commission that will be entrusted with the task of setting up of a parliamentary commission to supervise the constitution.

Rupeika then asks Brazauskas whether his position differs from that of the Lithuanian deputies who walked out of the congress the previous day. Brazauskas replies: "It doesn't differ at all. Of course, I did not leave the house. It would be somewhat more difficult for me to do that. We all gathered here and our opinion is unanimous. We believe that this committee should be set up and we think that this is an organ of great importance which has not existed in the history of our state. Therefore, the first steps of its activity should be based on and regulated by new laws that will be set up and adopted in the near future. The committee must not be guided by the old legal norms."

He also expresses concern about the future of laws adopted by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, adding that "if any decisions are made with respect to these laws, this would not be accepted calmly." However, he maintains that Gorbachev "understood this" and "we got the impression that the laws we adopted will remain in force."

Asked if he and members of the Lithuanian Republic administration will have to take the blame for the Lithuanian walkout, Brazauskas says: "It would be much better if we did not have to perform these functions. I think this should not happen. I believe that there are other means in the arsenal of the parliamentary campaign which can be applied—discussions, methods of persuasion. Of course to sustain an extensive discussion at the congress would be rather difficult because there are very many people who want to speak."

Brazauskas then talks about the future work of the Supreme Soviet commissions and his personal involvement in their work.

Rupeika asks Brazauskas about the 8 June closed sitting of the congress because "so far the people of Lithuania have not been given any information about it."

Brazauskas replies: "You know that from the ethical point of view one cannot be expected to say much about a closed sitting. However, there are no great secrets there. The main issue under discussion was the issue concerning the situation in Fergana, in the Fergana Oblast and the nearby areas. The issue of introducing a curfew or not was discussed."

Rupeika then asked Brazauskas' opinion on Nishanov's appointment as chairman of the Council of Nationalities.

Brazauskas replies: "If you want my personal opinion I would say that the chairman of the Council of Nationalities should be a representative from a republic situated in the European part of the USSR. The main intellectual and economic potential of the USSR has accumulated in its European part, Brazauskas continues, and the chairman should therefore be from the European part.

Asked about the concept of republic self-accounting proposed by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Brazauskas views this as a "step forward, but he says Ryzhkov's unified approach to the idea is unacceptable to Lithuania. He predicts that the Baltic republics will win because the center acknowledges in principle that republican self-accounting has a future. The interview then ends abruptly.

Poll Indicates Improving Congress Debate, Work

PM1306085389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 12

["Congress Sociology Service" report followed by commentary by Professor V. Mansurov, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology: "Interest Is Not Waning"]

[Text] The USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology "Congress" sociology group has conducted its fifth telephone poll in the cities of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tallinn, and Alma-Ata. Some 250-300 people were questioned in each city. The population structure was properly represented.

	Moscow	Leningrad	Kiev	Tallin	Tbilisi	Alma-Ata
Do you follow the congress work?						
Constantly	40	45	57	24	59	43
More or less constantly	39	35	30	50	30	36
Now and then, irregularly	20	19	11	20	10	19
Hardly at all	11	1	2	6	1	2
How would you say the congress is proceeding at the moment?						
Much better than expected	28	32	38	44	57	39
As expected	32	33	28	15	17	43
Falls short of expectations at the moment	33	27	22	26	10	19
Hard to say	7	8	12	15	16	9
Do you agree with the agrarian deputies' proposal on resolutely gearing economic development to the countryside and agriculture?						
Agree	90	77	78	86	80	88
Do not agree	4	10	6	4	4	2
Hard to say	6	13	16	10	16	10
How should we deal with the privileges enjoyed by people working in the administrative and managerial apparatus?						
Abolish all privileges	43	45	64	40	47	53
Leave what is essential	52	47	33	56	47	39
Change nothing	2	3	1	4	1	2
Hard to say	3	5	2	0	5	6
In your view, has the standard of debates and of the deputies' behavior changed during the congress?						
Improved	32	36	39	44	50	37
Deteriorated	29	22	23	12	34	21
No change	32	30	37	44	16	26
Hard to say	7	12	1	0	0	16

The high interest in the congress' work is being maintained not only by the acuteness of the issues under consideration, but also to some extent by its unpredictability and by the display of initiative, which sometimes goes over the top. For instance, a group of agrarian deputies made an appeal to the congress. As the poll shows—and I stress that it involved only city dwellers—it is obvious to the majority of Soviet people that the food problem will not be solved unless the urgent social questions in the countryside are solved.

The question of the immediate abolition of the administrative and managerial apparatus' privileges turns out to be not at all obvious, from the poll participants' viewpoint. Opinion is almost split, moreover in most cities more than one-half is against the immediate abolition of all benefits and privileges for managerial apparatus workers. Obviously, most Soviet people favor a balanced approach to this problem—first investigate, and then abolish anything that is unwarranted.

After 8 days the congress work is calming down (I mean the form of debate). The congress is moving away from the "rally" style and more and more people's deputies are realizing that excessive emotion mars mutual understanding and does not contribute to a businesslike discussion of the really glaring problems of our society. A considerable number of those questioned notes that the standard of the debate and of the deputies' behavior is changing for the better, the citizens of Tallinn being less of that opinion than the others. [as published] There are still many speeches requesting additional resources and attempts to focus the entire countryside's attention on individual cities' problems. The Supreme Soviet deputies' commissions have a great deal of work to do to systematize these demand-speeches and determine whether it is possible to solve the problems raised in them and in what order.

The poll shows that the congress is increasingly living up to Soviet people's expectations.

Results of Opinion Poll on Congress Achievements

18001203 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 23, 10-16 Jun 89 p 1

[Article by V. Mansurov, leader of the sociology group "Syezd," deputy director of USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology, doctor of philosophy: "Public Opinion on the USSR Congress of People's Deputies"]

[Text] The sociological group "Syezd" of the Institute of Sociology of the USSR Academy of Sciences is continuing its telephone poll of pubic opinion in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tallinn, Tbilisi, and Alma-Ata. Each time we explain the degree of interest of the residents of these cities in what is going on in the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and how much the congress is justifying their expectations. An analysis of the answers to these two questions makes it possible to catch the dynamic of changes in the attitude of Soviet people toward the event.

Our poll indicates that the attention the citizens are giving to the congress is not slackening.

As for the evaluation of the progress of the congress on how it is meeting the expectations of those polled, then here we trace a clearly positive trend, fixed in Alma-Ata, Tbilisi, and Tallinn. Moreover, in Tallinn the number of those who think that the congress is doing better than they expected increased threefold (from 15 percent to 44 percent). In each of these cities, the number of those who are absolutely dissatisfied with the way the congress is going decreased by 5 percent. At the same time, opposite changes occurred in the evaluations of Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev residents.

Along with these two permanent questions, we ask three or four new questions on various subjects. For example we asked the question: "Do you think a 14 percent cut in military expenditures is adequate?" On the whole, people ardently support the idea of reducing military expenditures. One percent of those polled in Tbilisi to 9 percent of those polled in Moscow came out againsta cuts. However, it is worth considering that 66 percent of the residents of Tallinn, 66 percent of those in Tbilisi, and every third person in the other cities think that the proposed reduction is not enough.

We tried to clarify the attitude of our respondents to the question about republic cost accounting which was placed on the agenda of the congress by people's deputies from the Baltic republics.

This idea is not supported by 2 percent of those polled in Tbilisi to 9 percent of those polled in Moscow. There were more supporters who had no reservations, as was assumed, in Tbilisi—75 percent—and in Tallinn—73 percent—and somehat less than half in Moscow—48 percent, and 46 percent in Leningrad. If you add to them those who support the idea, with some reservations, then this will be a majority in all cities, without exception, where the poll was conducted.

Even greater support among respondents was given to the proposal of deputy-agrarians to resolutely turn the economy to the development of the village and agriculture: from 77 percent in Leningrad to 90 percent in Moscow.

To the question on what the approach should be on privileges that are enjoyed by workers of the administrative-management apparatus, the answers were broken down in the following way:

Responses	Moscow	Leningrad	Kiev	Tallin	Tbilisi	Alma-Ata
Stop all privileges	43	45	64	40	47	52
Leave what is needed	52	47	33	56	47	39
Change nothing	2	3	1	4	1	2
No answer	3	5	0	0	5	6

What do the voters want to know about their deputies? The poll showed that the overwelming majority of poll participants want to know how their elected representatives are voting. Therefore, from 83 percent of the respondents in Alma-Ata to 93 percent in Tbilisi are for the roll call principle.

A substantial portion of those polled evaluate the cultural level of the discussions and behavior of the deputies at the congress rather critically. Despite the fact that the work of the congress is taking on a more businesslike character and is moving away from a "rally" style, only from 32 percent of those polled in Moscow to 50 percent of those polled in Tallinn believe that the style of discussions and the behavior of the deputies has changed for the better. Much in the behavior of deputies can be explained by their political inexperience and inability to really see a state problem as a local problem, and the absence of civilized discussions. However, we see how the atmosphere of the congress is changing before our eyes, and how the new Soviet parliament is learning to work.

Continued Coverage of Novyy Uzen Disturbances

Socioeconomic Shortcomings Blamed

PM2306122189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Jun 89 Second Edition p 2

[KAZTAG-TASS report: "Novyy Uzen: Truth and a Well-Considered Approach Are Needed"]

[Text] A news conference was held 21 June in Alma-Ata involving correspondents from the central and republic mass media. The following, who have just returned from the scene of the events, delivered reports on the disturbances in Novyy Uzen and answered questions: M.R. Sagdiyev, chairman of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium; U.D. Dzhanibekov, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; G.V. Yelemisov, republic prosecutor, and V.M. Miroshnik, chairman of the Kazakh SSR KGB.

The situation in Novyy Uzen developed as follows. A brawl broke out on a dance floor late in the evening of 16 June between young Kazakh and Lezgin nationals. The militia reacted in a timely fashion and took the requisite steps to stop the fight and the incident seemed to be settled. However, the same night groups of inhabitants began to form into national groups. Clashes then began to occur between them resulting in three deaths and dozens of injuries. More than 50 law enforcement personnel were hurt.

Touching on the underlying causes of the outbreak of the acute conflict, the speakers stressed that they did not, of course, lie in the fight between young men of different nationalities. It is all much more complex. First—and this is the main thing—the disturbances were the result of shortcomings in the city's socioeconomic development. Novyy Uzen has been expanding for many years, with an ever-increasing penchant for industrial specialization.

Another set of causes are ideology-based. City party committee and city soviet executive committee personnel had, in effect, gotten used to such outrages and some of them even were under the thumb of light-fingered smooth operators. In this light the city leaders' stance, whereby they were aware of numerous alarm signals and complaints from working people regarding the deformations that were taking place in Novyy Uzen but did nothing concrete to correct matters, seems quite unforgivable.

It was stressed at the press conference that the complexity of the situation and the complex nature of the events taking place in Novyy Uzen dictates the need for a well-considered approach to them on the part of mass media workers.

'Frank Conversations' Needed

PM2306110789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 89 Second Edition p 8

[PRAVDA correspondent D. Gutenev report: "In the Shackles of Rumor: We Report the Details"]

[Text] Novyy Uzen—It has long been known that words are the most powerful weapons. Excited by exaggerated rumors, the residents of Novyy Uzen have come out onto the streets.

Although local radio broadcasts reports and various appeals several times a day, the inhabitants are, unfortunately, not obtaining sufficient information directly from the lips of the city's leaders. Moreover, it is not rallies that are needed in this case but honest and frank conversations in squares and outside apartment blocks. We saw that they were necessary when we visited the square near the "Neftyanik" Palace of Culture with V. Pankin, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Criminal Investigation Main Administration. Both young people and older people, who plied us with absurd questions and ridiculous "facts" at first, calmed down after a few minutes of peaceful discussion. The hitherto irreconcilable interlocutors pondered what they agreed on and which questions they should continue arguing about. But their aggressiveness was appreciably reduced.

It is this work that is needed today to counter the rabble-rousers and the organizers of the riots. According to the city commandant and G. Knyazev, the republic's minister of internal affairs, who met with journalists, the extremists have a management group which is operating quite efficiently. To all appearances this group has now adopted the course of paralyzing the city's vital services even under the curfew.

Only the bakery and food stores were working normally yesterday. At 0300 six men armed with guns and metal bars attempted to seize the city's gas compression station. They were all arrested. Previously hooligan elements tried to put a water supply line and the electricity supply out of action and seize a gas processing plant. A massive offensive is now being carried out on collectives of motorized transport enterprises and calls for sabotage can be heard.

The "Mangyshlakneft" Production Association industrial transport fleet was unusually quiet at 0730 hours. Vehicles which should have been delivering water to businesses and other freight and machinery necessary for production were frozen in an endless line. At first we met only one driver, T. Andgaliyev. When asked why there was no sign of the others, he replied sadly: "There's no one here because they're afraid. I myself live in Tenga settlement, several kilometers from Novyy Uzen. I have been working throughout this time, although I've been under constant threat. But I was approached by people yesterday who warned that if I go out today, my car and house will be set on fire."

At the oblast leaders' request, 100 registered drivers from Alma-Ata and Karaganda arrived in Novyy Uzen yesterday. They replaced those local men who refused to take the wheel. More than 100 buses and freight vehicles left the enterprise today. Shevchenko-Stary Uzen passenger services have resumed, and regular connections to the local airport have been organized.

However, despite efforts on the part of the party and soviet aktiv, labor collectives are in ferment. One-fourth of workers and employees have once again failed to turn up for work.

People who died in the hospital as a result of clashes were buried today in Novyy Uzen. The funerals took place in a nervous atmosphere accompanied by antisocial and nationalist appeals.

A total of three men have been arrested for involvement in the riots throughout this period.

Kazakh Commission Established

LD2306141689 Moscow TASS in English 1214 GMT 23 Jun 89

[By TASS correspondent Raisa Ioffe]

[Text] Alma-Ata June 23 TASS— By a decree of the Kazakh Council of Ministers, a government commission has been set up in Kazakhstan for taking urgent measures aimed at ensuring socio-economic development of the city of Novyy Uzen. The city situated in the Caspian desert zone was the scene of massive unrest for several days that was brought about by inter-ethnic clashes. There was a loss of life, dozens of people were wounded, including 50 officers of the law enforcement agencies.

"The situation in the city and nearby townships continues to be complicated and contradictory in many respects," said Oktyabr Zheltikov, deputy chairman of the Kazakh Council of Ministers who chairs the government commission. "Some residents, fearful of new actions of hooligan groups, do not report for work. After curfew was imposed, most of the food stores opened. Transport, some factories, catering and communal enterprises resumed functioning."

Touching upon the root causes of the conflict, Zheltikov pointed out that it is not the domination of Transcaucasians in trade, public catering and communal services that brought about the unrest, as participants in it maintain, but the neglect for the city's social infrastructure that lasted for many years. Much of the fault for it lies at the door of the Soviet Ministry of the Oil Industry and some republican agencies." Against the background of the dynamically developing oil and gas industry the young city with a population of 50,000 continually experienced an acute shortage of housing and food. Little attention was paid to organising the spare time and recreation of the youth. In these conditions cooperative workers skyrocketed prices [as received], food speculation flourished, flats were distributed out of turn. Numerous complaints of working people were left unanswered by the local authorities.

The government commission decided to close down some of the trade and public catering cooperatives which violated the existing regulations. Ways of resolving other burning problems are being mapped out.

The commission has been charged with the task of submitting a draft resolution of the Kazakh Council of Ministers on urgent measures for ensuring the economic and social development of Novyy Uzen by July 30, 1989.

'Aloof' City Leaders Blamed

PM2506142489 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Jun 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Government Commission Formed"]

[Text] Novyy Uzen (Guryev Oblast), 23 Jun—By a resolution of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers, a government commission headed by O.I. Zheltikov, deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, has been set up to examine questions and adopt urgent measures on the socioeconomic development of the city of Novyy Uzen.

The commission is empowered to summon as necessary for the study of particular questions representatives of the republican ministries and departments concerned, as well as leaders of enterprises under union jurisdiction located in Guryev Oblast.

The commission is instructed to submit a draft Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers resolution on urgent measures for the socioeconomic development of Novyy Uzen by 30 June 1989.

The situation in the city and nearby settlements is complex, although it became markedly calmer with the imposition of the curfew. There have been no further casualties. Transportation, industrial and public catering enterprises, and facilities of vital importance for the normal functioning of the city are operating, albeit not at full capacity. At the request of the oblast leadership, about 100 drivers have arrived in Novyy Uzen from Alma-Ata and Karaganda, to replace local drivers who refused to take the wheel.

The underlying roots of the outbreak of the acute conflict lie in the neglected state of the city's social infrastructure.

The situation was further aggravated by the fact that the city authorities, which had received numerous warnings and complaints from working people about the deformations occurring in Novyy Uzen, did nothing concrete to rectify matters. Furthermore, while the situation was "coming to a boil" and later, once the disorders had begun, the city party committee (Ye.K. Kumiskaliyev) and the city soviet executive committee (A.V. Kurichev) showed unforgivable unconcern and impotence. The leadership of the "Mangyshlakneft" Association, in the person of its general director N.U. Bekbosinov, also remained aloof.

Measures are now being adopted to help the city with the supply of food and industrial goods to the population, the organization of smoothly running municipal services, and the development of the social sphere in general, and also the establishment and maintenance of proper public order.

A decision has been adopted to close some of the cooperatives in the trade and public catering sphere. The competent organs are instructed to make a full study of instances of violations of the passport regime in the city, the registration of citizens on unlawful grounds, and the granting of housing out of turn, and also of the provision of jobs for young people. Ways of resolving other pressing problems are being studied. Those to blame for the shortcomings that occurred will be called strictly to account.

'Provocative Leaflets' Appear

PM2606141989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Ardayev dispatch: "Novyy Uzen: A Calm 24 Hours"]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 24 Jun—The latest incident report received by the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] from Novyy Uzen and nearby population centers is the best yet in the last few days.

The day of 23 June and the night of 23-24 June passed relatively calmly, without any active mass breaches of public order being recorded. Calm has been successfully maintained also in the city of Shevchenko. Small rallies were held near Mangyshlak Station, in Kzyl-Tyube Settlement, and in the city of Fort-Shevchenko—the demands made are basically the same as before, insistently urging that Shevchenko be renamed Aktau City.

Eleven persons were detained in Novyy Uzen and its suburbs for various offenses over the last 24 hours. No more than in normal times. The confiscation of firearms from the population continues by order of Lieutenant General G. Knyazev, commandant of Novyy Uzen City and Kazakh SSR minister of internal affairs, with only 4 guns confiscated and 108 voluntarily handed in by today. Militia and USSR MVD Internal Forces patrols are checking motor vehicles and passenger trains traveling in the direction of Shevchenko City and other population centers.

The normalization of the situation is being furthered by the fact that party and soviet workers from Guryev Oblast have made their way to Munayshy, Zhetybay, Yeraliyev, and other population centers. They are meeting with the population, hearing complaints, answering questions, and conducting explanatory work.

At the same time, alarming news is arriving from other regions in Kazakhstan: Sundry rumors which are stirring up the people are circulating in Tselinograd, Semipalatinsk, Kokchetav, Pavlodar, Kustanay, and Chimkent Oblasts. About 30 cab drivers in Kzyl-Orda left their depot and made their way into the city in an effort to assemble the population for a rally. The attempt was nipped in the bud.

Provocative leaflets of a nationalist content, calling for disturbances, have appeared in Dzhambul Oblast and some other places.

Militia 'In Control' of Situation

LD2606144889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1348 GMT 26 Jun 89

[TASS correspondents Kairbek Yermukhanov and Raisa Ioffe report]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 26 Jun (TASS)—The situation in the Kazakhstan town of Novyy Uzen, where mass disorders took place on 17-20 June, is slowly returning to normal. Transport is already operating at its normal rhythm, and all town services, cultural and educational establishments, commercial enterprises, and public catering are functioning. Nevertheless, helicopters patrolling over the town, and the posts on the streets manned by officers in the law enforcement bodies are evidence that the quiet and calm are relative. The town continues to be in an emergency situation. A curfew is in operation.

It was noted at a Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Internal Affairs Ministry briefing held in Novyy Uzen that "subunits of the militia and internal troops are fully in control of the situation." Malik Sarsenov, head of the ministry's press center, outlined the situation as it has developed to date. There are no active anti-social manifestations, let alone mass disorders, in the town. Several people have been arrested for making home-made explosive devices, and bottles containing inflammable mixtures. Two hundred firearms pieces have been handed in to the militia voluntarily, nearly all hunting weapons.

Malik Sarsenov said that yesterday one more person died of head and brain injuries and other bodily injury received in the first days of the riots. He was the fifth victim of the recent clashes in Novyy Uzen. There are 22 wounded still in the hospitals. More than 3,500 people, mostly women, children and elderly citizens, have left for the North Caucasus.

However, there have been minor disorders in the villages of Yeraliyev and Kulsary, and at Mangyshlak station. Peaceful meetings with a limited number of participants have been held in the town of Shevchenko and the villages of Zhetybay, Munayshi and Shetpe.

A government commission is working in Novyy Uzen, drawing up urgent measures for the socioeconomic development of the town and surrounding villages. A decision has been made, aimed at finding jobs for young people, to build factories for the production of consumer goods in Novyy Uzen, Zhetybay, and Fort-Shevchenko. It is planned to open new production facilities at a number of major enterprises.

Commandant Appeals to Citizens

LD2706012289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] The situation in Novyy Uzen, reports a TASS correspondent, is returning to normal. Transport is running normally and all the town's services are operating. Chertabayev, the newly elected first secretary of the Novyy Uzen city party committee who was elected on Saturday at a joint session of the city party committee and the city council, and Dzhumashey, chairman of the city executive committee, started their first working day by meeting with citizens. They are trying to find a solution to the most acute problems, eliminate the shortcomings in the socioeconomic sphere, and begin political and educational work.

The town's commandant, Lieutenant General Knyazev of the internal service [as heard], appealed to citizens in an address to act sensibly and calmly. This met with a response among the residents of Novyy Uzen. Throughout yesterday all was quiet in the town. At the briefing in Novyy Uzen, Sarsenov the head of the press center of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, described the situation on 25 June. No active anti-social manifestations, especially mass unrest, were observed here. The Ministry of Internal Affairs subunit is in complete control of the situation. Several people have been arrested for making homemade explosive devices and Molotov cocktails. In addition to the Mangyshlak station area, disturbances took place at Yeraliyevo, Kusriy. Rallies took place in the town of Shevchenko and at Zhetybai, Manaishi, and Shetre.

During the 24 hours of 25 June, 70 firearms were confiscated. Fourteen people were arrested for violating the curfew. As can be seen from conversations with people, not all of them have put their emotions and hurt feelings behind them. For the moment, many do not have a clear idea of ways to resolve the acute conflict. But the residents of Novyy Uzen are unanimous about one thing. It is time to put an end to social injustice, bureaucratic arbitrariness, callousness by officials, arrogance, and ignoring the interests of hundreds of thousands of people.

A decision has been made about removing the tension in finding jobs for young people. Garment factories will be built in Novyy Uzen, Zhetybai, and Fort Shevchenko. Under consideration is the opening of new production facilities at the Uzneft [oil] administration, at the Kazakh gas processing works, and at other large enterprises and organizations. A governmental commission is already working out a strategic program for developing the town and the nearby villages as are planning organizations of the oblast and the Mangyshlakneft [oil] association.

The solidarity committee, formed of ethnic Caucasians, which came into being spontaneously is conducting extensive education work among the population. Thanks to its activists, many of the hotspots of tension in Novyy Uzen and the surrounding villages have almost disappeared. The aksakals, the respected elders, are making their contribution too. In this is seen the end of the confrontation of the opposing groups and the beginning of a constructive quest for ways of resolving the conflicts.

'Thorough Investigation' Into Fergana Events Urged

PM2306145089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 25, 18 Jun 89 p 13

[Timur Pulatov article: "Tragedy in Fergana"; all Turkic names as published]

[Text] Tashkent—Unfortunately, what was expected happened. Just over a year ago, in the article "Running Before the Cart," I wrote in MN [MOSCOW NEWS] how important it is for the local authorities to be able to forecast interethnic friction so as to nip it in the bud and prevent bloody conflicts. Those to whom this appeal was addressed were offended. They replied: We have seen everything and we are aware of what's going on, so there's no need to dramatize the situation.

But the illness was already showing its symptoms then. I have in mind the events in Dzhumabazar, Samarkand Region, where clashes took place between the Uzbek and Tajik part of the population. The conflict broke out in a densely populated district because of the shortage of land. There were no victims.

Now we have a new drama which has already developed into a tragedy, and again in a densely populated region where the percentage of unemployed is one of the highest in the country.

Could this mass beating of Turks in Fergana have been prevented? Yes. Tension between the 100,000 strong community of Meskheti Turks deported to Uzbekistan and the native population was felt long ago. Just lately, it has been artificially whipped up by all sorts of rumours. In teahouses under the shade of plane-trees, in spacious yards packed with children, people are indignant that all the best jobs in trade and the cooperatives are taken by newcomers—the Turks—and that the best lands for construction of houses are allotted to Turks, naturally, not without reason. The local district authorities are corrupt. Uzbeks on their own land are content with low-paid jobs, or with no jobs at all.

The republic's authorities could have stopped these rumours, rejected them or punished unscrupulous officials who have infringed upon the rights of the native population. They could have offered a serious employment programme for the population not only of Fergana, but also of Andizhan, Namangan, Bukhara and other regions where employment among the adult population comes to one million. But there is no such programme, only a few unpopular measures to resettle Uzbek families in the Non-Black Earth Zone [Non-Chernozem Zone] districts of Russia.

Ten days before the fatal events in Fergana, one of the active members of the movement for the return of Turks to their native land in Georgia, lawyer Ibraghim Gaziyev, told me about groups of young people trying to provoke clashes with the Turkish population.

"We applied to the Republic's Central Committee and were assured that the situation is under control and that there was no reason for anxiety." The next day he was going to fly to Fergana to look into the matter on the spot with other activists of the movement.

But Gaziyev could not get to Fergana from Tashkent. The militia authorities banned the Turks living in Fergana making trips to see their relatives.

On June 1, categorical demands were heard everywhere: All Turks must leave the Fergana Valley within 24 hours. The bewilderment of the local authorities only speeded up the confict, which turned into a horrible pogrom the next day. Even the preliminary results are horrifying: About 100 people, mostly Turks, dead, over 300 wounded, 400 houses burned down....

The absence of real information about the causes of the conflict gave rise to many rumours, often absurd, for example, that Turks committed an outrage on an old Uzbek woman, and this roused the indignation of the native population educated in the traditions of Islam. But then those who spread malicious rumours apparently recalled that Uzbeks and Turks share the same religion, communicate with one another in Turkic, and have other common traditions. That was when the version about the "market dispute over strawberries" came about. In this and other cases, those guilty were drunkards and drug addicts. Not a word was said about the main reason behind interethnic conflict: socioeconomic and demographic problems. Local papers even stress that the conflict has nothing to do with the ethnic relations. So what's it all about? Can the drug-addicted elements be blamed for everything? But then why, along with categorically unacceptable demands made by the Fergana youth, were there a number of quite reasonable demands, for example, for ecologically safe chemical factories in the area, for putting up the price of [illegible]on, so important for the improvement of the population's living standards? There are many questions and the incident is too complicated and tragic to allow deliberate distortions. After all, the consequences will be felt for a long time, in Uzbekistan and the whole of the Soviet Union, the more so that internal troops are now allowed to use firearms there. We know from the bitter experience of other republics that the weapons do not distinguish between innocent and guilty....

I spoke to eyewitnesses of those terrible events, who, by a miracle, managed to break out of the raging crowd. One of them, Kadyr Khatukhadze, who was very nearly burned in his own home together with his family. His wife and 11-year-old son are still missing, together with dozens of other Turks. "I just can't believe such a thing could happen between us and the Uzbeks." Kadyr doesn't conceal his tears. "We lived like brothers. When Stalin deported us to Uzbekistan we survived thanks to the kindness of the Uzbeks... And now...how shall we look into each other's eyes? ...Really, even after all this, won't the goverment send us back to our homeland Meskhetia?"

Another refugee, Naiman Muslimov is tring to reason soberly: "We understand the bitterness the Uzbeks feel.... The Fergana Valley is the richest, but many people haven't been able to find a job for years, or to feed their children. For a man in the East there is no greater disgrace...Don't believe all the gossip designed to whip up hatred—Turks have no priority regarding "prestigious" posts. With Uzbeks, the majority of us toil hard in the cotton fields. This monoculture of ours has distorted all natural economic, ecological, demographic and now interethnic contacts."

Naiman has abaondoned his home to find shelter in neighbouring Kirghizia along with some other refugee Turks. Many Turks who live in the Tashkent Region (about 50,000 of them) fled panic-stricken to the steppes of Kazakhstan and are living there in horrible conditions. Others opted for the refugee camp under the guard of local military units. The refugee camps...are like those in Lebanon, or, say Pakistan. Is this what we Uzbeks lived shoulder-to-shoulder with the Turks for throughout the postwar years? Didn't we learn from our bitter history that the land on which innocent blood is shed becomes barren?

Because of someone's satanic will, it became possible to direct the crowd against the Turks, humiliated by a long period of Stalinist slavery in special settlements. Propaganda played and still plays a role in this. For a long time they referred to the Turks and Crimean Tatars as "traitors". So, one can well understand the anxiety now felt by 300,000 Crimean Tatars and 200,000 Koreans in Uzbekistan, who were put in the same category.

I must confess I was discouraged when, after the announcement at the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR about the tragic events in Fergana, not a single representative from Central Asia, where the Turks from Meskhetia are settled, stood up to demand the setting up of a commission of the Supreme Soviet to look into and settle the conflict. The formation of a commission to look into the events in Tbilisi on April 9 could become the model for similar situations.

A thorough examination by the Supreme Soviet is necessary, because someone wants to start a new "Uzbek case" to put the Uzbek people in a bad light and relieve of responsibility all those who have brought us to a crisis through their incompetence, cynicism, and ignorance of the needs of Uzbeks and Meskhetia Turks.

I call upon people's deputies Andrey Sakharov, Roald Sagdeyev, Ales Adamovich, Yuriy Karyakin, all who cherish the truth about the terrible events, and the traditions of friendship between our peoples, to come to Uzbekistan and launch a thorough investigation into the causes of the tragedy in Fergana, assess the consequences and submit their conclusions to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR or the Congress of People's Deputies this autumn.

RSFSR Assisting Evacuated Meskhetian Turks

PM2306111989

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian on 22 June in its Second Edition publishes on page 6 under the headline "New Homes: Meskhetian Turks Sheltered in Russian Villages" a feature on Meskhetian Turkish refugees in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. The feature opens with the following introductory comment:

"Russia has again assumed someone else's problem. Such is its historical destiny, such is its character—to console, to share grief, to empathize. Down through the centuries we Russians have experienced hard times ourselves, which is why we understand other people's suffering so well and why it finds such a response in the heart of each Russian.

"Meskhetian Turks have now been accepted into the very center of Russia—in the Orel, Bryansk, Voronezh, Kursk, and Belgorod regions... The situation back in Fergana was such that many of those who had suffered there arrived by plane bringing nothing but the clothes they wore. And look at what they left behind! Grief, burned houses, and the murdered relatives were left back there, in the past.... It will be difficult to turn this tragic page. But it must be done!

"Right out on the airfields of those Russian towns the refugees were greeted by field kitchens, doctors, and convoys of buses with an escort from the State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration. The refugees were looking for new homes. Once again Russia generously gave homes intended for its own people. Russian women weep with the mothers and wives from the deep south. They bring the victims clothing, food, and utensils—everything needed for normal life.

"Russia has taken in people in distress. They need its protection today. We know that it isn't the Uzbek people who are to blame for this. There are forces pursuing definite aims behind the violence committed by the many thousand-strong drunken mobs. This has still to be investigated.

"But life goes on. And Russia tells the refugees: 'We will not desert you in your grief. We invite you into our friendly homes where there is room enough.'"

The feature continues with correspondent reports from Voronezh, Kursk, Orel, and Smolensk noting the Russians' "responsiveness to other people's grief," the uncertainty of the Meskhetians' future, the need to "accelerate the adoption of a final decision" on the problem, and social problems such as the provision of housing and education and the need to reunite families that have become separated in the past weeks. One correspondent believes that "the leaders of Uzbekistan and Fergana Oblast should assume at least part of the concern for those people who have left their homes: In simple terms this is their party and human duty."

The feature ends with the following "on the spot commentary" by F.A. Tabeyev, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers:

"By 20 June more than 16,000 Meskhetian Turks had been evacuated to the RSFSR. The mere look of these people, desperate and exhausted, many having lost family and friends, could not but arouse compassion and sympathy for their great suffering. The majority had brought no possessions with them; many were in ragged clothes, the children barefoot.

"The situation demanded swift and vigorous measures from the local authorities. The new arrivals were quickly allocated new possessions, clothes, and footwear. A collection was organized from the population: People brought what they could. The necessary medical aid was given.

"Staffs were quickly set up, including workers from soviets, health care, the agro-industrial complex, civil defense, transport organizations, and trade. The immediate management of refugee reception was assumed by oblast executive committee chairmen and party oblast committee secretaries.

"Each group of refugees from Fergana Oblast was also greeted by leaders of the rayons and farms where the newcomers were due to be settled.

"Clubs, boarding schools, sports halls, vacant private homes, and new apartments have been allocated as temporary accommodation for the migrants on farms. Children are being sent to young pioneers' camps.

"In the Orel region 20 percent of the newcomers have been housed in new apartment blocks, 35 percent have been housed with existing residents who have moved to the city, 20 percent have been placed in sports halls, and the remainder are in premises adapted as temporary accommodation. Free catering has been organized locally.

"In Kursk Oblast farms are offering long-term housing construction loans to those who want to take up permanent residence. Applications for furniture, clothing, footwear, bed linen, and household appliances are being received.

"It should be noted that local soviet and economic organs coped successfully everywhere with the initial complex stage of the reception and placement of the Meskhetian Turks and showed flexibility and efficiency in their work.

"Leaders of many RSFSR ministries and departments have already visited these places and determined for themselves the tasks involved in continuing to provide the Meskhetian Turks with everything that they need.

"I have seen the situation in Smolensk and Orel Oblasts, met with Meskhetian Turks, and answered numerous questions from them.

"There are 3,870 refugees in Belgorod Oblast now. Voronezh Oblast has 2,374, Kursk has 2,618, Orel has 4,986, and Smolensk has 2,200. In all, as I have already said, that makes 16,000 Meskhetian Turks.

"The next stage of work with the migrants is now beginning—finding them work. Some of them immediately expressed a desire to work in agriculture. They have begun work building various facilities and in crop cultivation and stockraising.

"Many Meskhetian Turks are raising questions related to their life back home, the procedure for resigning from their old jobs, entries in their work record cards, job training, and so forth. Many of them have no work record card.

"There are many other problems in need of solution. They must definitely be resolved without delay because Mother Russia from time immemorial has always rushed to help all those in need."

10th RSFSR Supreme Soviet To Meet 27 Jul

LD2606161889 Moscow TASS in English 1612 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 26 TASS—The tenth session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation will be held in Moscow on July 27.

The decree of the presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet says that two items are submitted for the discussion of the session: About the tasks of government and managerial bodies of the republic to increase the output and improve the quality of consumer goods in connection with the guidelines of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the endorsement of decrees of the presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet.

Latvian Economic Independence Draft Published

18001179 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 3 Jun 89 p 3

[First part of the "Draft Concept of Economic Independence for the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text]

Preamble

The goal of the concept of economic independence (self-management and self-financing) for the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] is to ensure the stability of socio-economic development of the republic, guarantee that the needs of the populace for foodstuffs, consumer goods and services, health care services, and education are met, improve the economic situation, and create more favorable conditions for the development of national culture.

The Latvian SSR pursues its independent economic policy through the method of economic accountability, within the framework of which the expenditures of the republic are covered from its revenues, generating necessary reserves in the process. The economic independence of the Latvian SSR as a republic follows from the essence of the USSR as a union of sovereign states, and complies with the main principles of the rule-of-law state. Economic relations with central organs of the USSR, with other republics and economically accountable regions, as well as foreign states, are structured and regulated by the republic on the contractual basis of mutual advantage. All enterprises, offices, and organizations situated in the territory of the Latvian SSR, regardless of their affiliation, are obligated to act in compliance with the legislation of the Latvian SSR.

Economic relations of the economically independent Latvian SSR are based on the following principles:

—plurality of forms of property, equality and legal protection of all forms of property, along with the freedom of forms of conducting economic operations on the basis of goods-and-money relations;

—economic operations are steered primarily through the methods of economic adjustment (taxes, loans, subsidies, preponderance of market economy, and so forth), proceeding in the process from the regulatory acts of the Latvian SSR, without direct interference in the economic operations of enterprises;
—increased legal and economic independence of internal regions of the republic (cities, rayons, villages) and decentralization of territorial government;
—complete economic independence, openness, and the status of equal partnership in relations with other republics and regions of the USSR, as well as in the sphere of foreign trade.

1. Objectives

1.1. In the course of implementing the economic independence of the republic, a foundation will be created for the most rapid socio-cultural development of the Latvian SSR. Such a foundation may only be created through multifaceted and intensive cooperation with other union republics (based on the all-union division of labor), and with foreign countries.

1.2. The goals of economic independence of the Latvian SSR have been set proceeding from two levels of social subjectivity: individual and national. At the individual level, the economic accountability of Latvian SSR embraces the entire population of Latvia as a sum of individuals, regardless of their national affiliation.

1.3. For every citizen of the Latvian SSR, the implementation of economic independence of the republic means:
—creating conditions for improving the standard of living, the protection and strengthening of spiritual and physical health, and greater opportunities for satisfying his personal needs, as well as reinforcing the feeling of confidence in the feasibility of his activities;
—greater freedom in selecting activities (professions), and opportunities for the comprehensive development of personality;
—increased prestige of (respect for) economic initiative (entrepreneurship), and diligent work;
—a more humane environment;
—an economy addressing the needs of consumers.

1.4. At the national level, the economic independence of the Latvian SSR is aimed at the need to preserve the Latvian ethnic community in its historic territory. Members of other nationalities in the territory of the Latvian SSR are guaranteed conditions for meeting their socio-cultural needs, and developing their ethnic community.

At the national level, the economic independence of the Latvian SSR opens great opportunities for:
—improvement of the demographic situation in the republic;
—restoration of the social and cultural potential of the Latvian people, and support for their creative abilities;
—preservation of the regenerative capacity of the natural environment of Latvia, and purposeful utilization of its natural wealth;
—better utilization and continuous growth of the ethical, scientific, esthetic, and other kinds of spiritual potential;
—increased interest, activity, independence, and responsibility of the population of Latvia in relations with other regions of the Soviet Union and foreign countries.

2. Property

2.1. Within the economic system of the Latvian SSR, the principle of plurality and equal rights of the forms property is implemented, which provides for the following forms of property:
—state property of the Latvian SSR;
—property of local (city, rayon, rural, village) soviets of people's deputies of the Latvian SSR;
—collective property (of cooperatives, social organizations, labor collectives of individual enterprises or organizations);
—individual property (personal and private).

Within the framework set forth in the legislation of the Latvian SSR, property of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, other union republics, foreign states, as well as their corporate persons and individual citizens, and international organizations may be created in its territory, as well as various mixed forms of property (including the private property of corporate persons and citizens of foreign states).

All forms of property enjoy equal rights, and are protected by the law of the Latvian SSR, which also creates the conditions necessary for augmenting property.

The variety of forms of property provides an opportunity and conditions for using various organizational forms of economic operations.

Relations of property in the territory of the Latvian SSR are regulated exclusively by the legislation of the Latvian SSR.

2.2. The state property of the Latvian SSR is independent and legally separate from the state property of other union republics of the USSR, to which it is tied through goods-and-money relations.

The land in the territory of the Latvian SSR, mineral resources, airspace over the territory of the republic, inland and territorial waters, continental shelf, and other natural resources constitute the exclusive property of the Latvian SSR.

The right to own, utilize, and manage the resources of the economic zone of the Baltic Sea adjacent to the territory of the Latvian SSR devolves on the Latvian SSR within the confines acknowledged by international law.

Fixed production assets in industry, construction, and agriculture, transportation and communications, the assets of state trade and municipal enterprises and service establishments, created at the expense of state capital investment, also constitute state property of the Latvian SSR, as well as do other assets necessary for the Latvian SSR to accomplish its goals as a sovereign state, such as state banks, and their funds.

The concept of the independence of the state property of the Latvian SSR, and its separation from the property of other union republics, is based on the principle, proclaimed by the constitutions of the USSR and the Latvian SSR, that a union republic of the USSR is a sovereign socialist state. Thus far this principle is in contradiction to what is stated in Article 11 of the Constitution of the USSR: State property constitutes common assets of all Soviet people. However, it should be taken into account that the Latvian SSR, having joined the USSR voluntarily, still has not given up both its economic and political sovereignty, because it has not voluntarily delegated to the governing bodies of the USSR the right to own, utilize, and manage the state property of Latvia. However, the economic independence of the Latvian SSR is impossible if its state property is not legally and economically independent and separate from the property of other union republics, i.e., if the Latvian SSR does not have the right to own, utilize, and manage its state property. This is why the state property of the Latvian SSR cannot be a part of common state property of the USSR, but should be independent and legally separate republic property.

In general, the notion of state property of the USSR as common assets of the entire Soviet people cannot exist, if there is a parallel notion of union republics of the USSR as sovereign soviet socialist states, because, if we proceed from the latter thesis, only the properties of united sovereign soviet socialist states exist within the framework of the USSR, the sum of which does not at all amount to the state property of USSR. As a sovereign state, every union republic pursues its independent economic policy, reconciling its national-state interests with the interests of other union republics.

Within the framework of the legislation of the Latvian SSR, the state property of the Latvian SSR may be leased, or transferred for a fee or free of charge to individual labor collectives, social organizations, or citizens of the republic, as well as to other union republics, the USSR as a whole, foreign states, their corporate persons, or individual citizens.

2.3. Within the economic system of the Latvian SSR, property of the local soviets of people's deputies may be created. Individual structures of the state property of the Latvian SSR, or structures created independently (with the resources and means of the pertinent organ of state authority) may be transferred to the local soviets of people's deputies to be owned and used.

Transfers of the structures of state property of the Latvian SSR to the ownership, use, and management of the local soviets of people's deputies, redistribution of the available assets of local soviets, or their confiscation, should not be carried out without the consent of the organ of state authority in a given territory.

Property relations of the local soviets of people's deputies are regulated by the local organ of state authority in keeping with the legislation of the Latvian SSR.

2.4. Means of production and other assets necessary to achieve statutory goals may be owned by the collectives of individual enterprises, cooperatives, their organizations and associations, and social organizations. This form of property may be created independently with the resources of cooperatives and social organizations. The organs of state authority in the Latvian SSR may transfer, for a fee or free of charge, individual structures of state property to the ownership, use, and management of labor collectives, cooperatives, and social organizations.

2.5. In the Latvian SSR, individual property appears as personal and private property.

Personal property, which embraces consumer items, serves to meet the personal needs of individual citizens or families.

Means of production and other assets used in manufacturing commercial products may constitute private property (property of individual citizens or families).

Assets constituting personal property may be passed down as inheritance.

Personal property is formed on the basis of assets at the disposal of individual citizens and families, as well as by transfers, free of charge, of the structures of state property by the organs of authority of the Latvian SSR to the ownership, use, and management of individual citizens and families.

2.6. Conditions for the ownership, use, and management of the assets of state, cooperative, and social organizations and enterprise collectives, as well as of individual citizens of the Latvian SSR, which are located in other union republics of the USSR and foreign countries, are set by the legislation of the USSR union republic or foreign country in whose territory the assets are located, and by mutual treaties.

The Latvian SSR ensures the protection of property referred to in the first part of this point.

3. System of Taxation

3.1. The goal of the system of taxation in the Latvian SSR consists of ensuring monetary revenues for the republic and local budgets, and exerting the influence on the economic operations of enterprises and people in the direction necessary for society.

Taxes are levied on the basis of laws of the Latvian SSR, which are adopted following an all-people's discussion.

The rates of taxes are established by the republic and local organs of authority.

3.2. Pursuant to the laws of the Latvian SSR, all enterprises and organizations (state, cooperative, joint-stock, and individual), located in the territory of the republic and linked among themselves through economic operations, pay taxes to the republic and local (city, rayon, rural, and village) budgets.

3.3. The basic kinds of taxes in the Latvian SSR are:

—taxes on the populace: progressive income tax (which takes the family status into consideration at the same time), land tax, tax on assets, transportation vehicle tax, and tax on the utilization of natural resources;

—taxes on enterprises: income tax (profit tax), turnover contributions, or consumer tax, resource use fees (land, natural resources, labor force, production assets), social security contributions, fines and clean-up fees for polluting the natural environment from enterprise funds, and so forth;

—fees: excise fees, turnover tax, show fees, and customs dues.

3.4. Along with contributions to the budget, contributions to non-budgetary special-purpose funds can be used: development fund, fund of the farmstead, fund of labor employment, nature fund, migration fund, fund for road maintenance, and so forth, the establishment of which may become necessary.

3.5. Republic taxes are the same in the entire territory of the republic, whereas local taxes—only within the territory of a given soviet of people's deputies. Various soviets may impose various local taxes.

3.6. The establishment of a tax system presupposes a transition by citizens of full (active) age and enterprises to compiling declarations on annual taxes, and submitting them to the tax service created for this purpose.

The rates of state taxes are the same for all enterprises, regardless of the form of property, affiliation, and organizational form of the enterprise.

4. Budgets

4.1. The system of budgets of the Latvian SSR includes the republic budget and independent budgets of local soviets of people's deputies.

4.2. The Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR establishes the procedure for forming and using the republic budget, aiming, in the process, at:

—reducing the role of the budget in redistributing the national income;

—reducing the role of indirect taxes, which preserve the nature of social inequality, by a corresponding enhancement of the role and significance of direct taxes;

—giving up the maintenance of enterprises using budgetary subsidies.

4.3. The revenue for the republic and local budgets is provided in compliance with the tax levies envisaged by law, and other fees.

4.4. The republic and local budgets are independent of each other, and are only mutually connected within the framework set forth in the law on financial relations.

Both the revenues and expenditures of the republic and local budgets are determined by corresponding soviets independently, following a public discussion of draft budgets.

4.5. Local budgets emphasize in the allocation of their funds financing for economic, social, cultural, and other programs of local significance, as well as financing for the corresponding offices and measures, for maintaining local organs of authority and management, for accumulating reserve funds, and for providing subsidies for subordinated budgets, forming local special funds, and other expenditures provided by law.

4.6. When necessary, local soviets of people's deputies may cooperate in order to carry out a unified economic and social policy in larger territories, and to carry out joint projects in all fields falling within their jurisdiction, for example: construction and operation of hospitals, clinics, recreation and athletic facilities, residential houses and retirement homes, general schools and vocational technical schools, regional infrastructural networks, as well as roads.

4.7. The republic budget emphasizes in the allocation of its funds financing for economic, social, cultural, and other programs of republic significance, as well as financing for the corresponding offices and measures, maintenance of the republic organs of authority and management, formation of reserve funds, payments made to the all-union budget of the USSR, provision of subsidies for the local budgets, formation of republic special funds, and other expenditures provided by law.

4.8. The republic government may delegate to local self-management [bodies] a segment of expenditures of the republic budget, republic and all-union programs, the implementation of which is envisaged for the territory in question.

The budgets at all levels (both the revenue and expenditure sides) are released to the public in their entirety at three stages of their preparation and execution: as a draft, in the form adopted, and in the form of an implementation report.

5. Banks, State Insurance, and Currency Circulation

5.1. The banking system consists of the Latvian SSR Central Bank (Bank of Latvia) and commercial banks. In addition, various specialized credit establishments are set up.

5.2. The main task of the bank of Latvia is to organize currency circulation and regulate wholesale trade in currency.

5.3. All elements of the banking system are economically independent, and follow the law, as well as the rules set by the bank of Latvia.

5.4. Commercial banks also engage in purchasing and selling securities. The issuance of securities is organized by the bank of Latvia. An exchange is created for securities trading.

5.5. If necessary, credit cards for payments or settlement checks are introduced in order to ensure a sufficient supply of consumer goods to the populace of the republic.

5.6. Monetary funds accumulated in the territory of the Latvian SSR constitute the credit resources of the republic. They consist of:
—funds of enterprises, other corporate persons, and citizens deposited in bank accounts;
—funds of the republic and local budgets;
—monetary savings of the populace;
—funds of state (cooperative) insurance;
—bank funds;
—undistributed bank profit (proprietary funds).

The banks contribute their resources to the formation of the state budget of the republic on the principles of chargeability and recoupment.

5.7. Proceeding from general political, state principles in the sphere of insurance, the Latvian SSR determines independently the volume and kind of insurance, tariff rates, and standards for contributions from economically accountable profits, and sets up a unified insurance system, including also the "Ingosstrakh" (a joint-stock society for foreign insurance).

The Latvian SSR independently manages the reserves and funds (including those in hard currency) which are accumulated as a result of domestic and foreign operations in the sphere of insurance, and establishes procedures for using them, as well as procedures accumulating and using preventive funds deducted from insurance premiums.

Resources which are not put to use in the national economy of the republic may be transferred to the USSR State Bank, or to the central and commercial banks of other republics, on the basis of a mutual agreement and for a fee.

5.8. Stabilizing currency circulation is an important socio-economic task, and a prerequisite for the economic independence of the republic.

In order to carry out this task, it is necessary:
—to create a stable monetary system;
—to implement restrictions (reductions) of credit;
—to ensure production equilibrium (balance) whereby the structure of supply is in line with the structure of demand, and proportions expressed in terms of value are in line with material and natural-unit proportions;
—to introduce consistently the anti-cost-based economic mechanism, and to increase economic activity;
—to develop goods-and-money relations on a broad scale, actively tapping the savings of the populace for developing the production of consumer goods and various paid services needed by the citizens. To this end, forms such as individual labor activities, cooperatives, joint-stock companies, and concerns should be used on a broad scale.

In turn, a freely convertible monetary unit (currency) is a prerequisite for the economic independence of the republic. In the absence of this prerequisite, the market mechanism will not operate; the republic will not be able to reinforce the goods-and-money relations with other republics, and will not be able to perform independent international activities; and the republic will not be protected from interference by monetary funds which are not covered by tangible values.

The all-union measure of value, the ruble, would be better than various monetary units for every republic. However, for as long as this ruble is not freely convertible (i.e., it is impossible to exchange, buy, or sell it), such a currency does not participate in the financial market; the flow of monetary circulation is not normalized, and the issuance of currency is not regulated. Trade becomes disorganized, and an unjustifiably large amount of various consumer goods is exported from Latvia.

At present, one of the variants for resolving the issue under consideration calls for the temporary issuance of a republic monetary unit in the form of check rubles, which would constitute a stable currency, fully covered by goods and services for which there is demand on the part of the population. Settlement checks appear only in cash circulation, along with the ruble. The rate of exchange against the ruble is 1:1. The settlement checks are paid only to permanent residents out of a definite segment of accrued monetary incomes (in 1990-1991, not more than 20 percent, and in 1992-1993, not more than 50 percent of the sum of disposable money).

At the first stage of introducing settlement checks (1990-1991), the task is to protect the republic market from a deluge of all-union rubles imported from other regions of the country. At the second stage (1992-1993), the rate of the percentage of checks paid to the populace may be increased and differentiated in order to boost the interest of producers in turning out greater amounts of high-quality goods.

If the implementation of the first two stages of the above endeavor brings positive results, the issue of canceling the system of settlement checks and restricting ourselves to the operation of the all-union ruble only may be raised.

However, if the stabilization of all-union ruble is not accomplished over this period of time, and the threat of ruble interference persists, then, using the experience of check circulation, a transition may be made to a permanent republic monetary unit (lat = 100 santims) instead of the ruble, or the Baltic Area ruble common for the Latvian SSR, the Estonian SSR, and the Lithuanian SSR.

With a view to ensuring the gradual introduction of republic settlement checks into monetary circulation within the Latvian SSR, along with the all-union monetary union, the ruble, the following conditions are necessary:

a) the temporarily introduced settlement checks of the Latvian SSR are a short-term republic monetary unit [denominated] in rubles with the same face value of bills and coins as the ruble (1, 3, 5, 10, 25, 50, 100 check rubles, and 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 15, and 20 check kopecks);

b) the emission of settlement bills of the Latvian SSR is carried out by the State Bank of Latvia on the basis of a special decision by the State Bank of the USSR, made pursuant to a legislative act of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the transition to self-management and self-financing in the republic;

c) settlement checks of the Latvian SSR circulate only in the territory of the republic, and take part only in cash circulation;

d) if the recipient so wishes, the payment of salaries, retirement benefits, benefits, and other payments may be made:

—at the first stage of introducing settlement checks, not more than 20 percent of the sum received in cash;

—at the second stage, not more than 50 percent of the sum received in cash. All taxes and other fees are collected from the income accruing in all-union rubles;

e) deposits of the population at the Savings Bank of the Latvian SSR may be recalculated at the request of the depositor after the announcement on the introduction of settlement checks in the republic as follows:

—at the first stage of the introduction of checks, at the request of the depositor, up to 20 percent of the overall remaining deposit is distributed into settlement checks, with the amount being recorded on a separate line of the personal account of the depositor, or in the passbook. The amount of the remaining deposit in rubles is correspondingly reduced;

—at the second stage, the recalculation is carried out accordingly for the amount of 50 percent of the overall remaining deposit.

The addition (payment) of new funds to the deposit is effected depending on whether corresponding sums are to be added (subtracted) by depositing or withdrawing all-union rubles or settlement checks;

f) the exchange of settlement checks of the Latvian SSR into all-union rubles is performed at the establishments of the Savings Bank or at special exchange outlets. The checks may also be exchanged at enterprises, organizations, and offices which have cash on hand (at the 1:1 rate).

In order for the issue of introducing settlement checks to be resolved in principle, it should be absolutely clear what the republic produces, and what it needs for independent economic operations in the environment of complete economic accountability. To this end, the following are necessary:

—the republic balance of goods,

—data on [the share of] high-quality consumer goods quickly sold to the populace in the overall stock of merchandise needed by the republic for personal consumption.

If it turns out that in the republic economy the share of production of high-quality goods which are quickly sold amounts to 30 percent of the overall stocks of goods earmarked for consumption, the issuance of settlement checks in the amount of 20 percent of all sums paid to the populace is realistic, as the checks will be fully covered by goods. If the share of the above goods amounts to 20 percent, the rate of payments in checks should be reduced.

The list of goods which are to be sold to the populace only against settlement checks is endorsed by the government of the republic, and is corrected (further specified) periodically depending on market trends.

5.9. Until a convertible currency is introduced, a hard-currency market in the form of a hard-currency auction is set up in the republic. The hard-currency auction is held once a month by the USSR State Bank under the supervision of the Republic Bank. State enterprises, organizations, cooperatives, and other economic units which have freely convertible funds in their accounts may appear as sellers at the hard-currency auctions. The Republic Bank of the USSR State Bank plays the role of a broker at hard-currency auctions.

A permit to use hard currency in the form of a contract rather than the hard currency proper becomes the subject of trade. Contracts between auction participants, through which the title to hard currency is transferred, are signed at contract prices based on the free relationship of supply and demand. The relations between the purchaser and the bank in implementing the title are based on the official exchange rate.

6. Price Setting

6.1. The government of the Latvian SSR performs price setting which promotes the acceleration of social and economic development of the republic, exchange of goods with other union republics and foreign countries, and ensures the defense of the interests of population.

6.2. With this in view, conditions are created for the simultaneous use of various kinds of prices:
—firm state (fixed) prices which are set for goods and services which are most significant from the socioeconomic point of view. A list of such goods and services is endorsed by the government of the Latvian SSR, which for this purpose studies the actual movement of prices, tying it to changes in the consumer value of goods;
—contractual and market prices which are set on the basis of an agreement between the seller and the buyer, in line with demand and supply; in order to avoid distortions in price setting, the goods from among the list of contractual prices are enumerated in particular the setting and changing of prices for which requires a permit from the agency regulating prices.

6.3. Pertinent legislation is invoked against monopolies with a view to avoiding the setting of monopolistic prices. Competition among producers, aimed at keeping the supply and demand in the internal market of the republic in balance, should become an influential factor of price setting.

6.4. Pursuant to the agreements, state prices are charged for products purchased and sold on the basis of trade agreements signed by the government agencies of the republic (raw and other materials, equipment, consumer goods).

6.5. In an exchange of goods by an enterprise with another enterprise located outside the republic, the price for specific merchandise is set by agreement.

6.7. A system of indicators reflecting the actual movement of prices and changes in the price index, as well as the dynamics of the purchasing power of the populace, is introduced in order to evaluate changes in prices and service charges. These indicators are regularly released to the public. Procedures are established which make it possible for the populace to compensate for the growth of prices. Changes in prices and charges are kept in line with changes in the level of consumer features of a specific product or service.

7. Planning

7.1. In the environment of economic sovereignty of the Latvian SSR, the functions of planning undergo a significant change, and the sphere of centralized planning becomes narrower. Contractual relations (partnership) between economic subjects, rather than the command system of relations in effect to date, become dominant. Centralized directive planning of the operations of enterprises which have received the status of collective ones is discontinued. The trend is toward weakening directive planning, but resolving the issues of the form and content of plans for the operation of state enterprises still remains a responsibility of the state.

7.2. The following are the main tasks of state planning:
—preparation of a concept of economic and social development of the national economy of the republic, formation of an all-republic long-range economic policy, preparation of key goals and tasks for the corresponding time period (rate of economic growth, major proportions, main structural shifts, main principles of attaining economic equilibrium, and so forth) which constitute components of the economic policy;
—devising a system of means for achieving the goals set. The system of means consists of so-called direct state decisions (e.g., allocation of funds for implementing state programs of development, [decisions] on state reserves, on international economic cooperation treaties, and so forth), and decisions on indirect levers of economic regulation during the plan period (on taxation, loans, depreciation, and price policy). The latter are the main channels for the impact of state planning in the environment of economic sovereignty of the Latvian SSR.

(To be continued).

Latvian 'Draft Concept' Continued

18001180 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 4 Jun 89 pp 2,3

[Second and final part of the "Draft Concept of Economic Independence for the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] The session of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR is adopting a fundamental decision concerning the concept and plan for development of the national economy and approving the basic directions for the socioeconomic development and the standard of living of the people over the 5-year period, and is also earmarking the funds allotted from the republic budget for carrying out the tasks. The state 5-year (annual) plan of the Latvian SSR for planned assignments for individual enterprises is not detailed.

7.3. One of the means of the state economic policy is the development and implementation of individual state target programs. The programs can be financed by the state, but the state can support the activity of the enterprises for purposes of implementation of the programs also though indirect economic regulation (for example, tax breaks) and if necessary it can play the role of head coordinator and organizer. The programs are implemented through agreements.

7.4. Collective enterprises, associations, and local self-management organs develop plans only for the achievement of their own goals and in the interests of meeting their commitments. They are responsible for meeting concrete needs and commitments.

Collective enterprises determine for themselves, taking into account their needs and peculiarities, what is most expedient in the sphere of planning their activity, the beginning of the planned period, the organizational procedure for planning, methods, and so forth in keeping with the general rules for drawing up the republic plan.

7.5. State and local orders are accepted by collective enterprises on a voluntary basis and are carried out on the basis of contractual relations according to the policy stipulated in point 9.3.

7.6. It is possible for planning organs to issue various kinds of mandatory state orders and so forth to the enterprises only in special cases determined by legislation (for example, when there are natural disasters).

7.7. The exchange of information that takes place between the central planning organ and the enterprise when the national economic plan is being drawn up cannot be interpreted as an obligation to draw up a draft of the plan for central organs or to coordinate this plan with them.

7.8. Planning and financing of the construction of housing and sociocultural facilities are done directly by local self-management organs. Depending on the circumstances, there can be subsidies or credits from the republic government.

The construction of facilities of republic significance (scientific institutions, VUZ's [higher educational institutions], cultural centers, specialized medical institutions, and so forth) are financed by the republic government, or they operate according to principles of economic accountability.

7.9. With respect to those enterprises and organizations that are still owned by the union, their development programs for construction, the infrastructure, the utilization of nature, and work force are coordinated with government organs of the Latvian SSR and local self-management, taking into account the positions of the self-management organs and based on the interests of the development of the entire economy and social sphere of the Latvian SSR.

8. Labor and Wages

8.1. The basis of the policy for labor resources is the physical and spiritual labor potential of the population.

For jobs of a temporary nature, one can enlist a work force from outside the republic on the basis of agreements in keeping with the decree on regulation and restriction of migration processes.

8.2. The potential of the republic's labor resources develops on the basis of the social and cultural policy, taking into account the personal gifts of each individual and the social need.

8.3. For purposes of ensuring the spiritual and moral readiness of the work force for work and the disclosure of its creative potential, the economic, social, and cultural policy provides for constantly increasing the qualifications and, if necessary, retraining the work force.

Enterprises use all means of economic regulation to create interest in releasing surplus work force, utilizing technologies involving an ever-greater degree of mechanization and automation, and providing for more productive labor from each worker. The most important of these means are the system of taxation and the republic investment and innovation policy.

8.4. The utilization of the work force released as a result of reorganization and technical improvement of production is regulated by the society with the help of state social insurance systems and retraining.

8.5. The amount of payment for any worker is determined by—in addition to the profitability of the economic activity of the enterprise—the labor contribution of each person and the people working with them, the difficulty of the labor, the quality requirements, and the ratio between supply and demand for the work force.

8.6. The republic government sets only the minimum amount of payment for labor, the minimum rates and minimum earnings, the maximum length of the work day, and the minimum length of vacations.

All specific wage issues (rates and conditions) are resolved at the level of each enterprise using hired labor.

Each enterprise with the agreement of the trade union establishes the norms and wage rates and schedule of work and rest for all workers.

The wage rules in state institutions financed from the republic budget are established by the republic government.

8.7. A republic wage system is formed based on unified principles which provides for adequate wages for workers of all systems, including public education, culture, public health, physical culture and sports, and the sphere of social security, depending on the social significance and the quality of their labor.

8.8. The formation of the income of the population is regulated by the state with the help of the following means:
—release from income tax of individual incomes which are less than the established minimum;
—the introduction of a progressive income tax for the incomes of each individual recipient of these incomes;
—the application of a progressive tax for incomes of enterprises depending on the ratio between the sums they pay to all workers and those used for investments.

8.9. The republic government organizes research of inflationary phenomena and changes in the structure of consumption by the population, deriving from these a cost-of-living index and making it public.

The minimum wage level, social insurance and social security payments, stipends, and so forth are adjusted in relation to changes in the cost-of-living index.

8.10. The interests of the workers in all issues related to wages should be protected by the trade unions and also other organizations created on a public basis.

9. Basic Principles of Entrepreneurship

9.1. The organization of the economic life in the Latvian SSR is based on normative acts in effect in the Latvian SSR.

9.2. Enterprises on the territory of the Latvian SSR can exist within the framework of forms of ownership permitted in the republic, engage in any sphere of activity not prohibited by law, and have any organizational forms.

9.3. The basis of reciprocal economic ties of enterprises, associations, organizations, and individual producers is the equivalent commodity exchange which is provided with the help of the market mechanism. Economic ties of republic enterprises and organizations with enterprises and organizations of other republics are based only on commodity-monetary relations and economic advantage, and are realized through the market on the basis of the good will of the participants. The enterprises receive state orders under conditions of contest and mutual competition.

9.4. Producers have the right on a voluntary basis, using their own funds, to join into unions, trusts, concerns, societies, and so forth if this does not contradict the legislation of the Latvian SSR.

9.5. Enterprises are opened through registration by the founder in the local self-management organ on the basis of permission obtained through the established policy for economic activity, a license, or a patent, and the conclusion of an agreement with the corresponding self-management organs in which they indicate the profile of the activity of the enterprises and the necessary restrictions (protection of nature, the labor resource policy). Within the limits of the permission for activity (licenses, patents) the enterprises may produce any kind of product, render various services, and sell goods without preliminary agreement or approval as long as this does not contradict the laws in effect in the Latvian SSR.

The policy for issuing permits for economic activity (licenses, patents) and the policy for withdrawing them are established by normative acts of the republic government.

9.6. For purposes of providing for the general interests of the Latvian SSR, enterprises are affected by the system of state taxation, norms of amortization deductions, interest on credit from the Bank of Latvia, subsidies, investment benefits, budget financing, republic orders, and also the establishment of quotas for production, imports and exports, limits on work force and standards for the production of specific kinds of goods or their sale, the right to economic activity, and so forth. Enterprises that change their form of management are guaranteed the same conditions.

9.7. All enterprises and organizations, after making the payments into the budget stipulated by law and also contractual payments to other organizations and individuals, distribute the income they receive at their own discretion guided by criteria of economic expedience. They draw up their production programs independently on the basis of their own plans and commercial prognosis, the results of a study of supply and demand, and an evaluation of the expediency of possible variants.

9.8. While developing commodity-monetary relations and contributing to the competition of commodities and commodity producers, to the integration of the domestic and foreign markets, and to the achievement of free convertibility of currency, the Latvian SSR government simultaneously contributes to the formation in the republic of a consumer market that is saturated with goods and services.

9.9. A special antimonopoly law is being adopted for purposes of developing competition in the republic. Questions of bankruptcy of enterprises are also regulated by a special law.

9.10. One of the forms of implementation of the state economic policy is to provide state target programs with resources, investments, and innovations, and also to create the necessary reserves of materials and capacities.

9.11. Local self-management organs may close down enterprises if they are violating the requirements of normative acts in effect in the Latvian SSR (if they are polluting the environment in excess of the maximum permissible norms, if they are not observing sanitary norms, if they are trading in products that are harmful to the health of people, if they are engaging in reprehensible economic activity, if they are campaigning for force, or if they are violating the law in any other way) or if they are not meeting the conditions of the agreements concluded with local self-management organs. In these cases it is necessary to observe the general interests of the republic.

9.12. Statistics and accountability are being reorganized on the basis of the needs of an economically sovereign Latvian SSR and the requirements of USSR and international statistics. Statistical data for all spheres of the development of the society (except those that are a state secret) should be available to every citizen of the Latvian SSR.

10. Regional Policy

10.1. The regional policy of the Latvian SSR provides for balanced development of the entire republic while simultaneously creating all the necessary conditions for realizing the prerequisites for the development of the regions and also those necessary reserves for elastic and economical management and for extreme situations.

10.2. The regional policy is implemented on the basis of the interests of the republic as a unified whole through the utilization of measures of a incentive, compensatory, and restrictive nature. Preference is given to incentive and compensatory measures.

10.3. The most important regional-political measures are: the creation of a system that contributes to the development of economic activity in certain economic zones; the creation of favorable conditions for taxation of the population; the investment of state money; the use of credit, subsidies, and other financial aid for the development of the social sphere; the introduction and differentiation of restrictions and normatives, the establishment of protective conditions, and so forth. There can be various short-term or long-term measures. Regional-political principles serve as a basis for territorial planning. The regional policy is implemented also in the form of comprehensive regional development programs.

10.4. These are the areas of the Latvian SSR regional policy: maximum utilization of the resource potential of various zones through structural changes; improvement of the potential resource compensation in individual regions; overcoming of the disproportions between regions caused by the economic and social policy implemented up to this point; easing of the disproportions in development caused by changes in market conditions ensuing from the market economy; provisions of conditions for the protection of certain zones.

10.5. The priorities of the regional policy in the near future are as follows:

—provision of an optimal ratio between large, medium-sized, and small enterprises; organizational deconcentration and territorial redistribution of industry and the development on the periphery (small cities, urban-type villages, and rural villages) of small production that relies on intensive technology and utilizes local resources; transformation of territorially dispersed production structural subdivisions into independent enterprises by a decision of their collectives;

—intensification of agriculture, especially in the outskirts and on land that is unfavorable for agriculture; the creation of favorable conditions for the development of small businesses (farms, societies); the development of small farms and resource-saving and nature-conserving farming;

—the formation of regional innovation centers on the basis of VUZ's and scientific institutions (initially in Riga and Yelgave); the raising of the scientific and cultural potential of other administrative centers through deconcentration of scientific and cultural-educational institutions;

—contribution to the development of tourist and recreational businesses in the regions with the appropriate potential; the development of health resorts and the closing of environmentally dangerous production in them.

10.6. From the standpoint of developing a system of population settlement, it is necessary to provide solutions to the following problems:

—preservation of the inhabitability of the largest possible rural area; to this end state funds are used primarily for the development of those outskirts where a certain level of population and economic activity have been preserved;

—the development of small cities and urban and rural settlements and villages;

—the development of rayon centers in addition to regional ones;

—restriction of the uncontrolled growth of the population of the larger cities of the republic;

—comprehensive development of the less developed regions of the republic;

—stabilization of the proportion of indigenous population throughout the republic and its growth in a number of cities and in the southeastern part of Latvia.

11. The Social and Cultural Policy, Regulation of Migration

11.1. The social policy in place in the Latvian SSR provides for accounting for the interests of all social groups and segments existing in the society and the elimination of unjustified social disproportions in the republic, and it embraces the achievement of a scientifically substantiated standard of living, the protection of the health and the growth of the spiritual and physical potential of the individual, and the provision of care in the event of illness, old age, or disability. Within this framework it is necessary to provide for economic guarantees of the production and development of the indigenous nation and its gene pool, the prevention of social deviations and situations of crisis and conflict, the provision of housing for the population, and the formation of an ecologically favorable environment.

The cultural policy includes also appropriate concern for science on the basis of balance in the development of humanitarian, natural, and technical sciences in close interconnection with world science in the interests of all the people.

11.2. The social and cultural policy creates prerequisites for the successful economic development of Latvia through increasing the love of work, the activity, and the enterprisingness of the people, the spiritual potential of the native folk, and through advancing the art of labor; it is based on man's freedom of choice and freedom of action, and on his abilities, and it also takes into account social self-regulation. Its goal is the creation of broader possibilities for the development of the entire population of Latvia.

11.3. The activity of republic organizations is limited to the development of state economic policy and the creation and financing of target programs necessary for it. Local organizations, social funds, and the population are also enlisted for the implementation of these programs. Republic organizations directly organize the utilization only of funds allotted from the republic budget.

11.4. The organization of social and cultural life in the local areas relies on regional programs for development which are drawn up with the help of local authorities, social and cultural organizations, and also local funds and social movements on the basis of free choice and with the participation of the population; it cannot be controlled from above.

11.5. The social and cultural policy is financed from republic and local budgets and also from social funds and at the expense of the enterprises and the population.

The funds invested by the enterprises in the development of the sociocultural policy are made up for through tax breaks or release from taxes in general.

11.6. When distributing expenditures between republic and local levels one should take into account the need to use funds from the republic budget to provide for the proper base level of the corresponding social normatives or for conducting the social and cultural policy of the cities and rayons, to which funds from the local budget can be added in each rayon as well as funds based on the independence and initiative of the enterprises and the population.

11.7. The basic functions of the social and cultural policy are the following: regulation of the reproduction of the population of the Latvian SSR and its social composition (implemented within the framework of the family policy, the employment policy, and the migration policy), protection of the health of the Latvian population, and guarantees of social security (the policy in the area of public health, social security, and protection of nature, and the housing policy); the development of the spiritual and physical potential of the Latvian population and the provision of the continuation of the culture (the policy in the areas of public education, science, culture, physical culture, and sports). The social and cultural policy is linked also to the creation of the information structure necessary for the development of the economy and culture (information policy).

11.8. For regulation of the migration processes with other regions of the Soviet Union it is expedient to apply mainly the following economic, legal, sociopolitical, and cultural principles and principles pertaining to other spheres of development and measures based on them:

—rejection of extensive development of the economy, taking into account here one of the most important components of bringing economic structural units (for example, employment, economic activity, forms of ownership, and so forth) in line with the needs of intensive development;

—the establishment in the Latvian SSR of republic citizenship and the realization of the constitutional rights and responsibilities of citizens of the Latvian SSR;

—the implementation of the decree concerning regulation of migration and, in keeping with this, of services whose basic functions would be to provide for a personally differentiated migration policy, including the determination of work qualifications and the clarification of family ties and the prerequisites for the adaptation of people coming to Latvia;

—the establishment for all enterprises of differentiated payment for the work force in conjunction with other resource taxation, considering this primarily as a means of the regional policy implemented by the territorial administrative organ which regulates, in parallel, various migration processes;

—the creation of an automated registry of all the republic's population and its periodic presentation to be made public.

12. The Utilization and Protection of Nature

12.1. The Latvian SSR guarantees citizens their basic rights to a living environment that provides for their health and protects the restorative ability of natural systems.

12.2. Activity directed toward this should take into account two basic requirements:

—preservation of the regenerative capacity of the natural environment;

—an environment (surroundings) that is favorable for man.

Thus prerequisites are created for providing for a safe environment that ensures the unimpeded vital activity of man and the preservation of the diversity and beauty of nature, the historical and cultural monuments of the Latvian SSR, the diversity and beauty of the landscape, and the ensurance of natural resources for future generations.

12.3. The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet establishes the policy for the utilization of all natural resources of the Latvian SSR, including the territory (surrounding space) as one of the major resources, and the policy for the organization of the protection of nature on the territory of the Latvian SSR.

12.4. The Latvian SSR approves international and intra-union agreements and recommendations of international organizations for the protection of nature.

12.5. Compensation for damage from interrepublic and international pollution is determined under the established policy.

12.6. The priority of territorial administration over branch administration is also established in the utilization of nature and the protection of nature, taking into account the peculiarities of each region, its condition, and its ability to withstand the load. The permissible level of the utilization of natural resources, the quotas of production and resource payments, and the permissible levels of pollution and the payments for pollution are regulated and established for the various regions.

12.7. Central organs for the protection of nature in the Latvian SSR are still responsible for the development of general tasks and strategy for the utilization and protection of nature, and a system of incentives for their implementation, at the level of central administration of the republic economy, the administration of state preserves, national parks, and objects for the protection of nature, and the leadership of regional agencies for the protection of nature.

12.8. The competence of the local administration includes the administration of the territory, the local implementation of the general strategy for the utilization and protection of nature, the application of local taxes for the utilization of nature and compensatory taxes (for damages), and the establishment of the maximum permissible norms in the area of the utilization of nature based on specific local conditions. Local self-management organs have the right to develop and implement a local environmental protection policy and to "veto" departmental decisions.

12.9. The principle for the utilization of new sites for the extraction of natural resources of the Latvian SSR, the conducting of geological prospecting and other research work necessary for this, and the comprehensiveness and completeness of the utilization of resources should be determined on the basis of a consensus of the opinions of self-management organs and the republic government.

12.10. The interests of the Latvian SSR and its territorial subdivisions with the interests of the enterprises are coordinated on the basis of an economic mechanism which materially encourages efficient utilization of natural resources and a reduction of environmental pollution, which makes the results of the operation of economically accountable enterprises directly dependent on this.

12.11. The success of the ecology policy is determined by the level of the people's ecological awareness and their sense of being a part of their environment. This is achieved through the economic mechanism and also through the educational and information policy; services are created for quick reaction for protection of the environment.

13. The Investment and Technical Policy

13.1. The basic directions of the Latvian SSR investment policy in construction toward the creation of a living environment favorable for the republic's population and also the restoration of the significance of architecture as a kind of art are:

—the creation of a humane and broad-scale technological environment that meets modern requirements on the basis of the implementation of socioeconomic programs, the protection of architectural values, and their restoration in order to satisfy the aesthetic needs of the people;

—the creation of fixed capital, production capacities, and a sociocultural base that correspond to the structural optimum of the national economy primarily in order to provide for an effective and science-intensive investment and technical policy and the production of consumer goods with high consumer value;

—the creation as a guarantee of the implementation of the investment policy in construction of a material base that would meet modern requirements so that through its regular operation it will satisfy the needs of the national economy and the population for high-quality construction materials and products of the construction industry.

13.2. For purposes of providing for an effective investment policy, all construction investment activity conducted on the territory of the republic comes under the competence of the Latvian SSR and is subject to coordination with it. Only the republic has the right to approve the corresponding normative documents in this sphere and for the establishment of expert evaluations;

—in order to balance the construction investments earmarked in the republic with the real possibilities of assimilating them, if necessary, differential investment taxes are established.

13.3. The goals of the technical policy are:

—the creation of conditions for the development of the scientific-technical, intellectual, land production potential of the Latvian SSR and its optimal utilization within the framework of the unionwide and international division of labor;

- the direction of the development of the national economy on the basis of modern technological production. The development of an intensive national economy is achieved through greater labor productivity, effectiveness, and profit;
- purposeful change in the structure and reprofiling of industrial production and also technical retooling on the basis of advanced modern technologies. Small enterprises equipped with modern technologies are being developed to this end. Scientific parks and technological centers are being created in order to join science, VUZ's, and production into one and also to create small high-tech enterprises.

13.4. For direction of the technical policy:

- an innovation fund is being created which is formed from the republic budget, unionwide funds, foreign capital, and other sources;
- with the help of special-purpose financing, subsidies, and benefits, conditions are being created for deconcentration of the location of high-tech production throughout the territory of the republic, thus exerting an influence on efficient utilization of the work force and the solutions to social problems;
- a modern material and technical base is being developed for scientific institutions and VUZ's, and priorities are being determined in the development of science, which is taken into account when funds are being allotted;
- increasing of qualifications and retraining of leaders, specialists, and workers, including abroad, are being organized as an objectively necessary and immediate condition for technological development. A special republic fund is being created for this purpose.

13.5. Requirements for product quality are established at the level of the corresponding standards of the International Standards Organization (ISO). A system of quality control and product certification is being created.

14. Relations with Other Union Republics

14.1. Regulations between the republic and other union republics are regulated in the following areas:

- legal and political relations with central organs of state authority and state administration of the USSR and the corresponding agencies of other union republics;
- economic relations (property relations, budget relations, relations in the sphere of monetary circulation, commodity exchange, communications and transportation, and so forth);
- social and humanitarian relations.

14.2. Relations between the republic and other union republics are regulated by agreements that provide for equality and mutual advantage and interest. Institutions and organizations of the Latvian SSR develop partnership cooperation with the corresponding institutions and organizations of other union republics.

The need of the national economy of the Latvian SSR for material and technical resources and consumer goods and services, and also commodity exchange relations with other republics are regulated in the following way:

- possibilities of satisfaction of these needs by the republic national economy are determined;
- possibilities of satisfying other needs through the establishment of direct horizontal economic ties with other union republic or enterprises are determined;
- centralized channels of material and technical supply of the USSR and the possibilities of foreign trade are used to satisfy the demands that are still not satisfied.

14.3. The cooperation of all branches of the national economy (communications, management, and so forth) and questions related to reciprocal commodity exchange are documented by special protocols and interrepublic agreements, whereby:

- communications on the territory of the Latvian SSR and between the Latvian SSR and other regions of the USSR are provided by the Latvian SSR government independently and it produces its own postage stamps;
- shipments are made by republic economically accountable automotive, rail, and air transportation enterprises and enterprises for sea transportation.

The activity of fishing enterprises of other union republics in the internal bodies of water, territorial waters, and the economic zone of the Latvian SSR is permitted on the basis of the corresponding agreements (licenses for conducting business).

14.4. The organization of commodity exchange with other union republics presupposes the republic's independence in the development of the appropriate strategy for commodity exchange. The practice of commodity exchange is regulated taking into account the following conditions:

- reevaluation and creation of a structure for importing and exporting material and technical means and consumer goods that is economically expedient for the republic;
- the application in commodity exchange with other union republics of a price level which would provide for mutual economic interest;
- the rendering of assistance to the development of direct agreements between the Latvian SSR and other economic regions of the USSR and the creation of a wholesale trade system;
- the development of trade on the USSR market and commodity exchange with other republics of the Soviet Union through the realization of marketing strategy.

14.5. In the transitional period the commodity exchange between the Latvian SSR and other union republics when dealing with centrally distributed products is carried out on the basis of exchange agreements which are concluded among management organs of the USSR, other union republics, and the Latvian SSR.

Management organs of the Latvian SSR and enterprises located on the territory of the republic have the right to conclude additional bilateral agreements for commodity exchange with management organs of other union republics or enterprises located on their territory.

For the development of commodity exchange based on direct ties, a system of intermediary organizations is created which actually buys and sells products in the Latvian SSR and the Soviet Union. In addition to this, assistance is given for the creation of joint and mixed enterprises with the participation of organizations of other union republics and foreign partners.

Commodity exchange among the union republics and also on the domestic market of the Latvian SSR is carried out through various wholesale markets—interrepublic, regional, and republic. Mutually advantageous buying and selling are carried out, and during the transitional period there is also the regulating role of the state order and intergovernmental agreements. The republic balance of supply and demand during the transitional period is used to draw up an initial interrepublic (and international) commodity balance for the planned 5-year plan.

Interrepublic exchange of products with imperfect market relations can be formed in various areas:

a) based on wholesale trade in various commodities if such relations have already been created. The consumer acquires the products without limits or funds under the conditions of wholesale trade from the material and technical supply organ in one republic or another. In turn, the enterprises may sell their products independently or do i through a commercial intermediary organization—republic wholesale trade bases for consumer goods and wholesale bases for means of production;

b) on the basis of mutual agreements among individua enterprises, using the existing system of cooperation and specialization. The consumer purchases products under direct, unlimited orders without an intermediary from the producer in other republics in keeping with agreements that have been concluded;

c) having enlisted support from the corresponding state agencies, organs that have jurisdiction over the economic partner in another republic. For example, a regular republic trade fairs of enterprises and organizations of other republics they can submit applications and orders or buy the goods they need. Enterprises of the Latvian SSR may operate similarly at unionwide trade fairs. In turn, taking into account the common circumstances of the shortage of energy and raw material resources throughout the country, the republic can make an order to the USSR Council of Ministers with subsequent equivalent deliver to the union of products from republic enterprises.

The model of the Latvian SSR interrepublic turnover of goods and services envisions their sale, in the first place, on the basis of mutually advantageous unlimited economic agreements; in the second place, on the basis of intergovernmental agreements (which are concluded according to the rules of foreign economic ties); and, in the third place, on the basis of wholesale trade in those products (not subject to centralized distribution) which have been produced at enterprises in the Latvian SSR.

During the transition period (1989-1991) the system of material and technical supply should be changed as follows:
—during 1989-1991 interrepublic deliveries and agreements should be kept in line with previous conditions and existing cooperation;
—in 1991 there should be a changeover to a reduction of centralized deliveries (by 20-40 percent) both by the union economic organs and those of the Latvian SSR;
—in 1992 the formation of all kinds of commodity resources and their circulation should be based on mutually advantageous government and economic agreements and other forms of trade.

This is the most optimistic variant. According to the pessimistic variant it is possible to envision the following three stages of the formation of socialist market for means of production:
—in the first stage (approximately 1989-1992) wholesale trade in products for technical purposes and the changeover to direct economic ties between the supplier and the consumer will develop along with centralized distribution of certain kinds of materials if these kinds exert an influence on the national economic proportions and are necessary for filling state orders or for other important needs;
—in the second stage (1993-1996) during the course of expansion of the sphere of wholesale trade, with effective action of economic management during the course of expansion of the sphere of wholesale trade, and with effective action of the economic levers of management—mainly the anticost mechanism and the price-setting mechanism—the market for means of production is basically formed. In this stage the market will be poorly developed, imperfect, and it will retain some of its monopoly and the dictatorship of the suppliers which this implies, with all of the consequences ensuing from this;
—in the third stage (1997-1998) during the course of the elimination of the monopoly of the producers on the basis of socialist competition and under the influence of economic laws there will be a gradual stabilization of the market.

During the course of the formation of a socialist market saturated with means of production (between the second and third stages) the need for the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply in the form in which it exists today will disappear. The republic State Committee for Material and Technical Supply will be transformed into a large association of trade intermediaries.

Successful commodity exchange is closely linked to conditions that contribute to competition among producers. Expansion of departments can be expressed in principle only through the activity of economically accountable enterprises and economic organizations (departments, ministries, and committees that have functions of controlling production will be eliminated). The monopolistic rights of these enterprises can be restricted by the following measures:

a) the development within the republic of free competition of producers (state, cooperative, and individual) producing the same kinds of products. This should be linked to the issuance of the state order through competition;

b) expansion under certain conditions of the importation of analogous products from other union republics and their importation from other countries (making the market open);

c) the utilization of a flexible taxation system (differentiated rates and so forth), including for provision of the population with inexpensive goods (the achievement of objective social goals) through:
—reduction of the tax on the profit of enterprises that produce inexpensive goods;
—differentiation of the turnover tax—the less expensive the item the lower the tax;
—the granting of various kinds of privileges by the state (subsidies, financial aid) to those enterprises that produce mainly inexpensive goods.

14.6. A marketing center is being created in the republic for studying the domestic demand of the Soviet Union, analyzing market conditions in competing parts of the USSR, and conducting trade research according to the orders of the enterprises and the interests of the Latvian SSR national economy, while developing this work on the international market as well. At the same time it is necessary to create a network of economic representatives of the Latvian SSR national economy in the economic regions of the USSR which, working with enterprises of the republic, will clarify the possibilities of concluding economic agreements with other regions of the USSR, enterprises, and organizations.

14.7. Wholesale trade is organized for the enterprises that trade in means of production, equipment, materials and batching items, and also consumer goods, using also auction sale of goods that are in short supply.

14.8. The increase of the Latvian SSR's contribution to the USSR national economy envisions expansion of economic ties and utilization of the following new forms of cooperation:
—the creation with other union republics of joint enterprises for processing raw and processed materials imported into the Latvian SSR and raising their quality to the international level;
—investments in other union republics;
—the leasing, running, and managing of individual enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, land, forests and so forth by the Latvian SSR;
—the creation of specialized organizations in charge of searching for and making contacts with foreign firms, the representation of the interests of these firms in other union republics, and also assistance in the creation of joint enterprises;
—training and improvement of the qualifications of specialists from other union republics and vice versa.

15. Foreign Economic Ties

15.1. The Latvian SSR relies in its foreign activity on the economic independence of the republic. The Latvian SSR has its own payment balance that includes accounts with other republics of the USSR and central organs as well as with foreign countries.

Enterprises and organizations located on the territory of the Latvian SSR use their foreign economic ties in keeping with legislation and normative acts of the Latvian SSR. Foreign currency accounts with other USSR republics and the center are handled in keeping with the conditions stipulated in the union agreements.

15.2. The Latvian SSR government has the right to conclude all kinds of agreements for economic cooperation with other countries and international economic organizations (CEMA and so forth). If necessary the Latvian SSR government submits agreements to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet for ratification.

15.3. All enterprises and organizations of the Latvian SSR have the right to conclude any kind of foreign trade transaction. If necessary, exports and imports are regulated by the corresponding state institutions with the utilization of tariff and nontariff methods of regulation of foreign trade that are applied in international trade practice.

15.4. Interested enterprises and organizations of the republic create various foreign trade organizations (joint stock companies, associations, trading houses, trading societies, and foreign trade firms). The registration of their charters and financial control are provided by the Latvian SSR Ministry of Finance.

15.5. All enterprises and organizations of the Latvian SSR have the right to enter into international alliances, societies, and organizations and the opportunity to cooperate freely with partner firms in other countries in all legally accepted spheres of activity.

15.6. All enterprises, organizations, and private individuals of the Latvian SSR can have foreign currency and use it at their own discretion for the acquisition of means of production and consumer goods. Legislative restrictions are applied only for regulating importation and exportation of currency and currency credit.

15.7. Production enterprises must work according to the principle of currency self-recoupment.

Republic enterprises, based on the normative established by the Latvian SSR government, sells some of its currency to the Bank of Latvia. The government uses these funds in the interests of the entire society for the development of spheres of the social infrastructure that do not earn currency.

The Bank of Latvia holds currency auctions and also organizes other forms for buying and selling currency that make it possible for enterprises and organizations to sell currency on a mutually advantageous basis.

15.8. The realization of the principle of currency self-recoupment on the scale of the republic is provided in the following way:

—through the creation of a new national economic structure which would provide for currency self-financing;

—the introduction of a new accounting system based on normatives applied in the world with other USSR union republics and central departments for the utilization of the territory of the Latvian SSR and the transportation network, ports and ships for transit, transshipping, and handling goods;

—the deposit of customs payments into the republic budget;

—intensification of such a sphere of infrastructure services as transportation, international communications, foreign tourism, and the health resort business;

—expansion of the sphere of rendering industrial services;

—service for foreign technology in the Soviet Union and service for USSR technologies in other countries;

—before the beginning of the realization of the principle of currency self-recoupment, the Latvian SSR receives some of the currency revenues of the USSR from the export of energy and raw material resources in proportion to the republic's contribution to the formation of the USSR national income.

Enterprises of the Latvian SSR that produce goods mainly for the union market are allotted currency for the acquisition of equipment (which is not produced in the USSR) from the union currency fund.

Upon achievement of a condition of currency self-recoupment the Latvian SSR transfers some of its foreign currency to the USSR, in keeping with agreements that have been concluded, for financing common programs.

15.9. For the most rapid strengthening of the foreign economic potential of the Latvian SSR, conditions are established that contribute to all kinds of economic ties. Special assistance is rendered for the introduction of highly effective technology and the corresponding scientific and technical information, the investment of foreign capital in the Latvian SSR, the organization of the training of specialists in questions of foreign trade and the training of managers, and also the development of foreign tourism.

15.10. Foreign economic ties and the development of modern technology in the Latvian SSR are realized under conditions of open communications that meet world standards. Therefore it is necessary to create international channels for direct ties, to create in the Latvian SSR a modern system for transmitting data, and to achieve the status of an international postal center for Riga. The Riga airport and the ports of the Latvian SSR (in Riga, Ventspils, and Liyepay) should be opened for regular international air and sea transportation (cargo, passenger).

16. The System of Territorial Administration

16.1. The system of administration of the Latvian SSR realizes the principles of a rule-of-law and democratic state at all levels, providing for the development of each region of the republic in the interests and on the initiative of the local population.

16.2. The former, mainly centralized management system (from above to below) is replaced by self-management. The system of territorial administrative management of the Latvian SSR at the local level is formed by uyezd cities, villages, and volosts. This level will be formed on the basis of cities of rayon (in the future, uyezd) jurisdiction, villages, and rural soviets of people's deputies. The second level is comprised of cities of republic jurisdiction and uyezds.

16.3. The functions of local state self-management at the local level include: administration of the territory in the interests of its population within the framework of republic legislation, the satisfaction and guarantee of the essential needs of the local residents, the provision of a full-fledged living environment, the protection of the civil rights of the population, and a guarantee of public order.

16.4. The functions of local state self-management at the second level include: implementation of public legislation and control over its execution in their territory, management of facilities of the social infrastructure of republic significance and provision for their functioning, the performance of functions delegated to it by local soviets of the first level, and representation of the interests of local soviets of the first level in the republic.

16.5. Decisions adopted within the limits of the competence of the local soviet of people's deputies are mandatory for implementation by enterprises, institutions, organizations, officials, and citizens. The principle of economic activity and the utilization of resources is realized on the administrative territory on the basis of a mutual agreement between the soviet of people's deputies and the entrepreneur, or in some other form after the corresponding agreement under the policy established by legislation. Local soviets of people's deputies, within the limits of their competence, have the right to halt the execution of decisions of higher administrative agencies and departments on their territory if these decisions are in contradiction with the competence of local soviets of people's deputies. Disputed questions are resolved judicially through a procedure established by law.

16.6. The numerical composition of local soviets of people's deputies, and also the structure and numerical composition of their organs, are established by the corresponding soviet within the framework of republic legislation.

16.7. Local soviets of people's deputies organize social and economic life on their administrative territory on the basis of principles of economic accountability.

The local soviet of people's deputies has an independent budget which is not included in the higher budget. The policy for forming and utilizing the local budget is regulated by republic budget and tax laws.

16.8. Local soviets of people's deputies have the right to establish local payments and their norms within the framework of the general republic tax policy, and to utilize loans and other additional sources of revenue (local lotteries, donations from the population and institutions, and so forth).

16.9. Territorial planning is carried out on the initiative of local soviets of people's deputies and it is directive in nature for providing for comprehensive socioeconomic development of the territory.

16.10. The changeover from the existing system of management to self-management is carried out with the help of successive reforms that correspond to the legislative acts of the transitional stage.

The Republic Government

17.1. The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers (government) consists of the chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and his deputies and ministers. The numerical composition of the Latvian SSR government is determined by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet.

17.2. The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers (government) is the highest organ of state administration and is subordinate to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet.

17.3. The Latvian SSR government has the authority to resolve all issues of state management within the competence of the Latvian SSR that are within its competence according to the Latvian SSR constitution.

17.4. The Latvian SSR government develops cooperation with the USSR Council of Ministers and the councils of ministers of the union republics.

In order to provide for permanent ties between the government of the Latvian SSR and the USSR Council of Ministers, and also the councils of ministers of the union republics in Moscow and the capitals of the union republics, there can be representatives of the governments of the Latvian SSR.

17.5. The central management organs of the Latvian SSR are the ministries of the Latvian SSR. The ministries of the Latvian SSR are run by the ministers. More than one minister can be in charge of a ministry. When changing over to economic independence the current state committees are reorganized into either ministries or state services or else they are merged or eliminated. The number of ministries and central institutions is reduced during the transitional stage.

17.6. Enterprises and organizations are not under the direct jurisdiction of Latvian SSR ministries and the ministries do not engage in operational management of economic organizations. Such economic levers as the tax system, the policy for granting credit and subsidies, and prices will determine the framework for the operation of any enterprise or economic organization on the territory of the republic, and also the norms for production and economic activity. The enterprises are not subordinate to the ministries or the committee for questions of production. The republic Supreme Soviet as an authentic expression of the power of the people and its executive organ, the republic Council of Ministers, develop drafts, organize public discussion, and approve rules for the operation of the economic mechanism.

17.7. The ministries implement the government policy on the basis of the laws of the Latvian SSR, decrees and instructions of the republic Council of Ministers, and acts published within its own competence, and control their execution.

Since after repeated discussion of the proposed variant of the draft concept, suggestions and additions continue to pour in, the collective of authors will consider them carefully and use them in their further work along with the wishes of the readers.

Draft Law on Election of Estonian Soviets

LD2606192489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1410 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Tallinn, 26 Jun (TASS)—The draft law of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] on elections to local soviets of people's deputies in the Estonian SSR has been published for popular discussion in Estonia.

The draft envisages that elections of deputies to all soviets of people's deputies in single-mandate or multimandate constituencies will be conducted on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage, with secret ballotting.

All citizens of the republic who have attained the age of 18 and whose permanent place of residence is in the territory of the relevant soviet will have the right to vote. As the draft stresses: "Any citizen of the Estonian SSR who has attained the age of 18 and who has resided in the territory of the relevant soviet of people's deputies for no fewer than 5 consecutive years, or for a total of 15 years in Estonia, can be a deputy."

As compared with the existing legislation, the draft envisages a considerable reduction in the number of deputies in soviets.

Certain clauses in the draft do not correspond to the articles in the Constitution of the Estonian SSR which is currently in effect, as a result of which corresponding changes and additions will have to be introduced when the law is adopted. For this reason, a draft law on the introudction of changes and additions to the Constitution of the Estonian SSR has been submitted for popular discussion at the same time. Taking into account the proposals and comments which have been received, the draft laws will be examined by a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet on 24 July.

Next in line is a discussion on the draft law on elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet.

Baltic Ideologists Discuss Party's Role

PM2106090189 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 2 Jun 89 p 2

[K. Timuska ETA report under the rubric "At the 'Roundtable'": "Seminar-Conference at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Party History Institute"]

[Text] A 2-day seminar on the theme of "The Party-Building Aspects of the Elaboration of Union Republic Communist Party Policy Documents" has been held at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Party History Institute. The seminar organizers—the party building section of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Party History Institute—invited their colleagues from the Latvian and Lithuanian branches of the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute and the Vilnius Higher Party School to attend the seminar. Taking part in the conference were E. Cherevashko, chief of an Estonian Communist Party Central Committee department; Yu. Meydla and G. Sootla, deputy chiefs of Estonian Communist Party Central Committee departments; K. Kasikov, chief of an Estonian Communist Party Central Committee sector; and R. Klepach, senior official of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

The conference was opened by Doctor of Historical Sciences E. Kaup, director of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Party History Institute. The main report was delivered by Candidate of Historical Sciences Yu. Tamme, chief of the party-building section of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Party History Institute. The co-reports were delivered by his collegues Candidates of Historical Sciences Yu. Bagushauskas (Lithuania) and V. Bluzma (Latvia).

Despite the fact that the processes under way in the Baltic republics have created situations which differ in some respects, there is much that they have in common. They furthermore share the aspiration of their restructuring forces for decentralization of the management of the economic, political, and other processes under way in the Soviet society. Without this, overcoming the crisis is unthinkable. However, not all people perceive these trends as an expression of natural national aspirations objectively engendered by the very process of democratization, aspirations which are called upon to create real preconditions for the free development of all the peoples of the Soviet Union, thus strengthening the union as a whole. The conservative forces find the idea of the delegation of the party's power to various levels particularly unacceptable. After all, the entire history of the CPSU is a history of an organization built on the principle of bureaucratic centralism, of an organization which has a monopoly on political power. The methods and forms of party work have so far been of a unitarian state nature with the center in Moscow. The party activities of union republics have, in accordance with the existing party statutes, been reduced to the implementation of decisions taken at the center. In conditions of restructuring this mechanism of political management of society no longer satisfies the union republics. After all, it is impossible to seriously speak about the sovereignty of republics without delegating the right to adopt political decisions to the level of their communist parties. Doctor of Historical Sciences Prof L. Dribins and Doctor of Historical Sciences E. Pelkaus (both from Latvia), Doctor of Historical Sciences Prof E. Yanchauskas and Candidate of Historical Sciences G. Vaskela (both from Lithuania), and senior scientific staffer K. Timuska (Estonia), who spoke in the debate, examined the national, ideological, sociopsychological, and organizational aspects of this problem.

As a result of the ensuing discussion the participants came to the conclusion that the independence of the republic communist parties and their territories is the only way to enhance the role and prestige of the CPSU. The basis for this is to be provided by the policy documents drawn up by the republic communist parties. Scientists of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Party History Institute emphasized especially that these documents cannot be reduced to yet another plan of measures but must contain policy provisions pertaining to the question of the future of the union republics based on the CPSU Program. The conference participants reached a consensus to the effect that the right of republic communist parties to adopt independent decisions must be enshrined in the statutes. One of the options to resolve this question could be a new, fundamentally reworked CPSU intraparty code of conduct.

While participants reached a consensus on the theoretical approaches to party building, specific proposals on individual formulations and draft documents will require further elaboration. In this connection two fundamental demands were put forward. First, the communist parties of individual union republics must themselves elaborate policy directives as problems arise and taking account of local conditions. Second, proposals on the question of changing the CPSU Program and Statutes at the all-union level will have to be elaborated jointly. It was decided to meet again in Riga, one month from now, to discuss specific questions.

Ryzhkov, Belorussian Deputies Discuss Chernobyl

PM2106095789 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 6 Jun 89 p 1

[BELTA report: "Meeting With USSR People's Deputies"]

[Text] N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met a group of USSR people's deputies, representatives of the public of Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts, and Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] leaders on 3 June. They examined pressing problems linked with the elimination of the long-term consequences of the Chernobyl accident.

In the course of an exchange of opinions the deputies set out voters' requests and instructions and spoke about the matters that are still arousing concern in the population of the areas that were exposed to radioactive contamination following the accident. During the conversation great attention was drawn to the need to enhance the effectiveness of measures to improve health protection for the population of the afflicted areas and improve their material position and social security.

Support was voiced for the proposal from the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers regarding the elaboration of a long-term comprehensive state program for eliminating the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station. Concrete decisions were adopted on a number of questions of paramount importance.

Ukraine Cadre Chief Deplores Party 'Defamation'

PM2106125589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Jun 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by V. Borovik, chief of the Party Organizational and Cadre Work Department of Donetsk Ukrainian Communist Party Oblast Committee: "Through Power of Authority: 'Today Many People Judge the Prestige of the Party as a Whole by the Actions of Communists, Particularly Leaders'"]

[Text] I will state frankly that I followed with special interest the actions of communist participants in the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. And I honestly admit that I was greatly pained at the fact that certain deputies who are party members took a stand of, I would say, forgetting their membership in the CPSU.

However, in my view, this tendency came into being not at the congress but much earlier. I have observed similar phenomena in our oblast too—during the election campaign, at rallies, during strikes. What reasons do communists give for their actions in such situations? And do they realize the consequences of ill-considered actions? Take those strikes. In our oblast alone various products worth more than R60 million are produced in a single day. It is not hard to calculate the possible cost of losses because of a surge of emotions which disorganize production.

After several strikes in mines in which party members were directly involved, we were not hasty to discuss them and to attach labels. We thought a great deal about the position of these people and endeavored to conduct a well-considered investigation into the reasons for their behavior.

At the "Lidiyevka" mine, for example, one of the strike's organizers was V. Arabadzhi, secretary of the section party organization. Why did he take such a stand? Perhaps he had lost faith in the party organ's prestige and the effectiveness of the measures provided for in the party statutes to combat shortcomings? It is impossible to give an unequivocal answer to these questions. The way party organizations react to communists' criticisms and appeals to the party bureau or party committee was probably a factor here. There is no denying that sometimes people do not meet with understanding and support there but come up against indifference and formalism.

However, be that as it may, the question arises: Are such methods acceptable of a communist? I think not. Is it really possible, say, to justify the conduct of CPSU member A. Demin, an electrician from Artemovsk, who, having conceived a generally good thing—to set up a society in the city to protect consumers' rights—but failing to receive immediate support, hastened to proclaim a hunger strike? I believe—and we reached this conclusion together at a conference of secretaries of the party committees of the oblast's mines—that such a form of protest is an unacceptable method for a communist because it resembles an ultimatum and rules out the possibility of taking a calm and thoughtful approach to resolving the problem.

Today many people judge the prestige of the party as a whole by the actions of communists, particularly leaders. It has recently become almost fashionable to blame the apparatus for all sins and misfortunes. What can account for this? Largely, I believe, incompetence and a reluctance to bother to ascertain the true reasons for shortcomings and those to blame for them. Such poorly reasoned accusations were aired at the congress too. The words apparatus and apparatus worker are today perceived almost as swearwords. And yet no process of management is conceivable without an apparatus. I dare to claim that people who are sincere and committed champions of restructuring work alongside me on the oblast party committee [obkom]. They are professionals in the good sense of the word, who know how to work properly and as much as necessary.

To work for the sake of what? That is another matter. It seems to me that with the breakup of the administrative-command system, of which the former apparatus was an obedient instrument, the very functions of workers on party and soviet organs are also being transformed. The chief thing for the apparatus today, figuratively speaking, is to elaborate drawings and the technology of specific assemblies and components of the large restructuring mechanism conceived by the party. This must be taken into account. However, far from everyone is coping with the new tasks. Many people are plainly lagging behind the demands of life. The apparatus must restructure itself more quickly, and in this sense it deserves specific valid criticism. But I am concerned at the fact that criticism of the apparatus "in general" is developing into defamation of the party. Telegrams were read out from the congress rostrum, and certain deputies also put forward a demand in their own name for the party to be stripped of power.

I think bitterly of such realities of our days, and I frequently wonder: What did we overlook and when, and how did we damage our prestige? Some people say: The whole trouble is that the party did not have to take all the blame for past mistakes. I cannot agree with this. An honest and frank admission of blunders and omissions is the only correct way to restore the people's trust.

I believe our chief shortcoming lies elsewhere. The years of stagnation communicate with us not only through empty store shelves but also through the communists' loss of their main weapon—fighting qualities. For in an atmosphere of complacent unity we forgot how to wage a political struggle. Party members developed political infantilism as a consequence of such contentedness. The concept of the political fighter, as applied to every communist, began to be forgotten and to be applied exclusively to professional party workers, and even then to those in charge of ideological questions.

We proved unprepared for the turbulent criticism for which glasnost opened the floodgates. Wishing to extend the period of calm, conflict-free existence and losing our head under pressure from demands to deprive party workers of frequently mythical privileges, we made rash concessions. It was like this here too. We promised to hand over the almost completed building of Budennovskiy Rayon Party Committee in Donetsk for use as a medical center. And only later, after investigating in greater depth and realizing that reequipment would cost more than building a new medical center, did we venture to tell people that the official building must be used for its proper purpose, and we raised with the oblast soviet executive committee the question of allocating funds to construct a medical center, which is really needed in the rayon.

In my view, the problem of restoring the people's full trust is becoming paramount for the party today. This does not run counter to the other very important tasks—such as raising people's living standards, the political consolidation of all society's healthy forces to accelerate restructuring, the improvement of the ecological situation, and so forth. The point is that resolving the housing, food, and other vitally important problems will be a very important means of restoring the party's prestige.

It is no less important today to raise the personal qualities of every communist to the level of the demands of the times. On examining this task through the prism of the Congress of People's Deputies and taking into account the stands taken there by our society's various forces, you arrive at this conclusion: Every communist and every party worker must reexamine his attitude toward the events occurring in society and critically reinterpret himself and his actions. It is necessary to begin by formulating the clear stand or, if you like, the platform of every communist—both political and moral.

Under the conditions of political debate, which, as the election campaign showed, frequently grows into a political struggle, every party member must be aware of the vital need for not a dogmatic but a creative study of the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and party documents. In other respects too it is necessary to constantly work on yourself and be a professional and a master of the cause you are tackling.

I wish to point out that the times make special demands on party workers of every rank. Conviction alone is not enough now. We must all learn to demonstrate political superiority not through the authority of power but through the power of authority. This authority has many constituent parts. It depends on personal competence, on intellect, on education, and on culture. It should not be forgotten here that political culture is a constituent part of general culture, not vice versa.

It has come to light that our opponents' level of preparedness is quite high and their knowledge of individual problems is more profound, and so they sometimes appear more effective to the audience. In this connection it was decided to organize special training for obkom workers. This now plays a great role in making workers better informed. The quality of the material being supplied with regard to various legal, economic, and social problems is ensured by the fact that training is provided by scientists and specialists of the highest level. We are also helped magnificently by the training given on the initiative of the party organization of the obkom apparatus. Its chief task is prompt orientation in the most urgent and topical questions of party political work.

We feel, however, that we must not confine ourselves now to these measures alone. A serious reorientation of the whole system of training and retraining the party aktiv from top to bottom is needed. I believe that in the future political workers cannot do without a special course in the study of ethics, oratory, psychology, and sociology. And the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department should clearly think seriously about these problems.

The times demand that we communicate very closely with people. We must visit the localities more frequently. People might retort: Did we not do this before? We did, but the very substance of meetings with people and the circle of these people must change. Why do our visits to labor collectives still leave such an insignificant trace? Because we look at documents in the old way and talk with the secretary of the party organization or, at best, with the aktiv but do not get through, as a rule, to the communist's work place or his worldly concerns. This is why workers sometimes rightly state that party committee personnel do not visit them at their plant or mine. And they are probably right, if only the chiefs see us. Today a mutual exchange of opinions, ideas, and information is equally essential both to us party workers and to collectives, to everyone.

Those party workers who boldly enter into debates and know how to speak without "notes" and to make contact with the audience now enjoy special respect. Such as, for example, Zh. Pashnova and P. Simonenko, secretaries of Donetsk and Mariupol city party committees respectively, who know how to find the right word and the necessary tone in frank conversation in any situations, even extreme ones.

Today, as is known, people's mood is largely determined by the state of the social sphere in the region. Last September we submitted this question for discussion at an obkom plenum and adopted a decision to support communists' initiatives with regard to concentrating their forces on social questions. Two-thirds of the oblast's party organizations have now found themselves in this important matter. They are working purposefully to implement what is planned.

After the USSR Congress of People's Deputies not a single initiative, not a single development, not a single action by party committees can be carried out without regard for the lessons of this very important political event. Our task today is to transform its decisions into real actions. And this will be the specific contribution of communists to restructuring—a contribution helping to strengthen the party's prestige.

Ukranian Catholics Demonstrate in Kiev

LD2106100189 Vatican City International Service in Lithuanian 0430 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Summary] About 100,000 Ukrainian Catholics demonstrated Sunday demanding the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The demonstration took place in Ivana-Franko in West Ukraine after the Holy Mass. The crowd went to the buildings of the city council, the party committee and the KGB chanting slogans calling for religious freedom. Although the militiamen watched the march, serious confrontations were avoided. However, the militia prevented Ukrainian Bishop Pavlo Vasilik and several priests from leaving their homes, thereby preventing them from taking part in the religious ceremony and the demonstration which followed.

According to available information, a similar demonstration was held by Ukrainian Catholics in Kiev. The demonstrators there received rougher treatment by the militia, and several people, including a priest, were detained for questioning.

Alternative Trade Unions Face Practical Obstacles

LD2306145489 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 25, 18 Jun 89 p 15

[Vladimir Volin article, including interviews with independent trade union leader Valeriy Korolev, AUCCTU Secretary Vitaliy Provotorov, and Department of Internal Affairs official Lieutenant Colonel Ivan Sedov: "An Alternative Trade Union"]

[Text] The founding meeting of the Association of Socialist Trade Unions, Sotsprof, was recently held in Moscow. The meeting was attended by 30 representatives of various work collectives from ten Soviet cities, who claim to represent the interests of almost 5,000 workers willing to join the new organization.

The master plan is to have alternative trade unions. But what's the motive?

A Competition

This was how worker Valeriy Korolev, 42, one of the leaders of the new organization, defined his attitude towards the country's existing trade unions.

MN: The country has a most representative mass organization—the Soviet trade unions—why set up your association?

V.K.: There's no direct analogy between the two. Consider our traditional trade unions. Who is going to employ the factory's former trade union committee chair when a new one has been elected? The manager of the plant, of course, the person whose decisions should be controlled by the trade union committee. Who suggests the candidature of the trade union leader? The CPSU secretary, as a rule. Who does the regional trade union chair hold council with on cardinal issues? The regional CPSU committee officials.

In this situation, it is rather difficult to fulfill the two functions most important for workers: controlling the actions of the management and standing guard over the interests of the workers. But this is precisely what we are going to be engaged in.

It is also important that our grassroots organizations handle their money at their own discretion. They are expected to give the central organ only as much as they think necessary and only for work really demanding the presence of their representatives in Moscow. The centre will no longer be collecting fees in order to redistribute them.

I'm not going to deny the work of the Soviet trade unions. They have been engaged in many activities—monitoring distribution of holiday-hotel vouchers, large-scale construction projects—and they are quite efficient. Our organizations should complement each other. [Korolev ends]

But the All-Union Central council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) doesn't believe in the need for this.

We Would Hate To Have Our Work Split

Thinks Vitaiy Provotorov, AUCCTU secretary.

MN: The AUCCTU has been confronted with the problem of defining its attitude towards the newly emerging alternative trade unions.

V.P: Our attitude is negative. Firstly, we are an organization with a perfectly functioning mechanism, rights, and structure enabling us to defend the interests of the working people. And this we do. Perhaps we are not always successful, but we do our best. Could we become stronger and make our defence of workers' interests more effective by acting in discord?

The Draft Law on Trade Unions stipulates that trade unions must have the right to nullify managerial decisions. Suppose there are two trade unions at one factory, and one organization decides in favour of some decision while the other one is against it. The resulting impasse will be something the management can profit from, while the employees will be left stranded. A similar situation could emerge during the signing of the collective work agreement.

Secondly, it's time we started drawing lessons from trade unions abroad. The trend is toward a rallying of forces. Take the trade unions in West Germany, Italy and Great Britain—they pool their efforts. This was a hard-fought option. How can we close our eyes to it?

True, there are many shortcomings in the work of Soviet trade unions. But you can't treat a patient by cutting off his head. We are already cooperating with many unofficial organizations and heeding the most radical of proposals. Everyone taking a socialist stand must rally with us. Otherwise it will be impossible to come to an understanding with people. [Provotorov ends]

Sotsprof doesn't seem to have been accused of taking an anti-socialist stand so far. Yet, the organization still does not meet with the understanding and support of the state organs: The founding congress of Sotsprof, which was scheduled for late May, didn't take place because the capital's Main Department of Internal Affairs refused the group of founders the permission for a seal, which means a refusal to recognize it. What were the grounds!

We Do Not Like Their Documents

Said Lt.-Col Ivan Sedov, the official issuing permission, at the Main Department of Internal Affairs in Moscow.

MN: You must have had some weighty reasons for the refusing.

I.S.: Yes, My first question was: Where have you registered your organization? It turned out that they hadn't registered it at all. Get it registered, I told them. With the Supreme Soviet or wherever.

It's not enough to just come here asking for a seal. Today it's them, tomorrow some anti-Soviet group. Things could go too far.

Just look at their documents: Minutes, a few signatures—but it's just worthless paper.

I'm not against them creating competition for the existing trade unions. But someone important should know about it and authorize it. That's the rule, and it must be observed. [Sedov ends]

The position of the department is quite understandable psychologically, but it contradicts the law. Article 95 of the Fundamentals of the Law of the USSR and Union Republics on Labour has it that: "In keeping with the Constitution of the USSR, employees are guaranteed the right to join trade unions.

"Trade unions act in line with their rules and are not subject to registration with state organs. State organs, enterprises, institutions and organizations should give every assistance to the trade unions in their work."

Sotsprof has, consequently, the right to recognition without the prior consent from the Main Department of Internal Affairs. On the other hand, it has no right to a seal without authorization from the department. But can you imagine here an organization without a seal? Consequently, we have a conflict on our hands: In keeping with the law, Sotsprof has the right to recognition, but, in keeping with the practices of the Main Department of Internal Affairs, Sotsprof cannot ensure that right for itself. The department cannot prevent the official recognition of Sotsprof formally, but it can in practice. And so it does and it is likely to continue doing so, until the reformed law dots the i's and crosses the t's.

Present Labor Camps Differ From GULAG

PM1406160789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jun 89 Second Edition p 4

[B. Pipiya report under the rubric "Questions, Opinions, Arguments": "You Rang"]

[Text] "We have had an argument—what is the fundamental difference between the GULAG [Main Administration of Correctional Labor Camps] system and the current MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] system of correctional labor institutions. Please answer.
"[Signed] T. Shuvalova, Moscow."

At the request of the editorial office, Lieutenant Colonel V. Prokopenko of the Internal Service, senior inspector for special assignments at the USSR MVD press center, answers this question.

[Prokopenko] Similar questions are often addressed to us from abroad. I will mention four of the most important fundamental differences.

First, not all the people serving sentences under the GULAG system were deprived of their liberty on the basis of a court sentence—some were imprisoned on the basis of various extrajudicial decisions (decisions by the so-called "troykas," special conferences, and so forth), which created the conditions for arbitrariness. Now a person can end up in a correctional labor institution only as a result of a court sentence.

Second, the GULAG system was guided exclusively by departmental instructions from the NKVD [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs] and MVD, and correctional labor legislation simply did not exist. This kind of legal nihilism of itself created the conditions for legalized lawlessness. But nowadays all correctional labor institutions function strictly in accordance with correctional labor legislation and nothing else.

Third, the GULAG system was removed from the jurisdiction of local party and soviet organs and was subordinated solely to the NKVD-MVD hierarchy. The present correctional labor institutions are under double jurisdiction—that of the local soviet executive committees and MVD organs, which ensures proper supervision of their actions.

Fourth, the GULAG system was totally shielded from public oversight. But now all the activity of correctional labor institutions takes place under the strict supervision of local soviet executive committee observer commissions. Add to this the constant strict oversight by the prosecutor's office of the observance of legality in the activities of correctional labor institutions and you have yet another fundamental difference between the current correctional labor system and the situation which prevailed in the GULAG. There are other fundamental differences pertaining to the organization of the use of convicts' labor, their material security, and the organization of the regime and of educational work.

Corruption, Nepotism Persist in Novorossiysk

18001235 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jun 89 Second Edition p 6

[Article by PRAVDA special correspondents K. Aksenov and N. Demidov: "After a 'Prestigious' Run"]

[Text] **It is no secret that in the years of stagnation a "special" circle of leaders evolved in some regions and cities on which particularly exorbitant praise was heaped, such as in Novorossiysk with its "Small Land." Switching from one supervisory post to another from time to time, they turned out to be sort of bound by the same rope of mutual guarantees. This is where rank consciousness, mutual servility, nepotism, favoritism, and other vices of the command-administrative system struck root.**

When someone tried to disrupt the relationships which have emerged, and injected his own opinion or criticism, he got trouble coming to him. Indeed, this was the case. A lot has been said and written about it already; it would seem that the times that left a bad memory are gone for good. And yet, in Novorossiysk....

It began with an article in the enterprise newspaper CHERNOMORETS. The author, Deputy Secretary of the Party Committee at the Maritime Shipping Line M. Pilyushin, pointed out numerous "sores" in personnel work. However, this was not the only thing to stir up the public opinion of this port city. The article said that some of the leaders use influence to get their sons, graduates of the Higher Maritime Academy, assigned to the Novorossiysk Shipping Line. Moreover, a bureaucratic system of selecting candidates for the so-called prestigious runs to foreign ports has taken root, causing the outrage of seamen. They do not want to put up with a situation whereby they have to wait for months to go out to sea, their fate often hinging on the whim of an official at the personnel service.

This was an unprejudiced revelation. However, it would most likely have gone unnoticed had it been generic. For his part, Pilyushin reinforced his reflections with a specific example, giving the name of City Executive Committee Chairman V. Prokhorenko. His son, fresh out of the academy, was posted as first mate of the motor ship 40th Anniversary of October, its destination being the Persian Gulf. In the opinion of M. Pilyushin, yesterday's student, having no experience of navigation, cannot be sent on a run that serious. Besides, the deputy chief of personnel for the Novorossiysk Shipping Line, V. Bezshchekov, and the captain of the ship, V.

Nachinkin, clearly had this position vacated in an artificial manner, and guaranteed a high salary in hard currency for Prokhorenko Jr in order to curry favor with a person influential in the city.

Whichever way you look at it, this was a serious accusation. This, however, was not the end. A discussion in CHERNOMORETS which began after the article was published revealed still new sore points in the personnel practices of the shipping line. Letters from captains and their mates, specialists, and rank-and-file seamen appeared in the pages of the newspaper, talking about clear examples of flouting their legitimate rights and social justice in the formation of crews, influence peddling and string-pulling, nepotism and favoritism, and other violations of ethical norms. The article by M. Pilyushin was discussed by 11 ship crews. Those who took the floor, about 100 of them, noted the urgency of the issues raised, and maintained that work with personnel does indeed need to be profoundly revised.

Let us note that in this complicated situation the party committee of the shipping line did not stay away from the raging discussion. It set up a competent commission which thoroughly checked out the personnel service, along with numerous petitions and complaints. It turned out that the issues raised in the article of M. Pilyushin reflected only the upper part of the "iceberg." Actually, as the commission established, the personnel service and its chief Yu. Afanasyev frequently display high-handedness. A long list of cases was even compiled where the same persons, sons-in-law and sons of executives, were assigned to "hard-currency" runs [on many occasions], at times even the violators of discipline, and drunkards. At the same time the number of shipping line employees exceeds the norm by 600 persons! In a situation when the seamen wait for a long time for their turn, and therefore their earnings, the personnel service should operate with particular efficiency and scrupulousness. Any case of favoritism or violation of the law is perceived with particular sensitivity.

What has come to light? Say, children of "personnel officers" Yu. Bakhmet, A. Badanin, V. Bogachuk, and A. Kirichkov got referrals to the best vessels. Tender-hearted relatives are reluctant to let their offspring leave Novorossiysk, using to this end their official positions. For example, the son-in-law of Captain V. Nachinkin was assigned to the Black Sea Shipping Line, but somehow managed to stay in his native city. Worse yet, in the course of verification a statement was submitted to the commission concerning extortion in the course of staffing the crews, which was passed on to the investigative organs. Callousness, rudeness, ill will in relations with the seamen, the secretive style of management, and administrative approaches to the resolution of their complex professional and human problems are the style of V. Bezshchekov, Yu. Afanasyev, and their subordinates, note the seamen. This has become possible because Chief of the Shipping Line L. Loza, and Secretary of the Party Committee G. Stanik, go easy on the management of the personnel service, and sometimes cover up for them. This is why the latter operate out of control, disregarding public interests.

In short, these are the conclusions of the party committee commission. The commission did not only confirm the correctness and urgency of the article by M. Pilyushin, but also aggravated the problem sharply. Here is why. Some time ago, the bureau of the Krasnodar Kray Party Committee discussed the issue of personnel practices at the shipping line. Violations of the rules of navigation, customs allowances, cases of lack of discipline while at sea, and so forth were revealed. In addition to this "bouquet," a group of swindlers was unmasked at the shipping line. Some of the managers were severely disciplined, and the secretary of the party committee was relieved of his responsibilities. Time has since passed, but it turns out that the personnel service is still suffering from the same diseases. This was the most unpleasant thing.

How did they receive the publication in CHERNOMORETS at the Novorossiysk City Party Committee? Ambiguously. Some praised Pilyushin for being courageous, while others objected: supposedly such articles sow discord, and cast slurs upon the party aktiv. After all, Prokhorenko is a member of the city committee bureau and the mayor of the city. What is to be done? A somewhat unexpected decision was made. Out of the entire campaign in the newspaper—which, let us emphasize, touches on the most acute problems of a major party organization—only the "fact" involving the chairman of the executive committee of the city soviet was "cut out" for verification. Well, perhaps such a restrictive approach is also possible. Let us not argue with it for now. The commission was headed by the secretary of the city committee N. Khvoytseva. She was to find out how the young Prokhorenko happened to get on the ship's manifest, and subsequently on the prestigious run, and what part his father played in this.

Needless to say, the commission showed much vigor in order to whitewash what was black. The events and facts were interpreted in such a manner as to shield the Prokhorenko family, and snuff out the passions raging around the shipping line. There was self-interest involved in this, which is actually what we started this discourse with. The citizens know that the players in the conflict—both those who headed the commission of the city party committee and those whom it inspected—belong to the same circles. Chairman of the City Executive Committee Prokhorenko headed the Oktyabrskiy Rayon Executive Committee at the time when current Deputy Chief of the Shipping Line Bezshchekov was the first secretary of the rayon party committee. Their families are still friends. Khvoytseva worked as a rayon committee secretary at the same place, and G. Stanik, currently the secretary of the party committee at the shipping line, was a department chief. As far as Captain Nachinkin is concerned, he has also managed to become friends with the mayor of the city. So, this sort of chain has emerged.

On his way home, Prokhorenko Jr took through the customs about 30 items of merchandise: a color TV, a video cassette recorder, a stationary sound system, a stereo tape recorder, a portable stereo player, video cassettes and tapes, and so forth. In short, he came out ahead. However, his benefactors did not miscalculate either in clearing a navigating channel to the prestigious run for a graduate who, incidentally, made C's in professional subjects. No, Captain V. Nachinkin did have his reasons for selecting Prokhorenko Jr to augment his crew.

Prokhorenko Sr ordered lots at the gardening association "Dyurso"—with which, incidentally, maritime personnel have nothing to do—for the "master" of the motor vessel and Deputy Chief of the Steamship Line Bezshchekov. Besides, no sooner did the motor vessel 40th Anniversary of October cast off, carrying Prokhorenko Jr to the Persian Gulf, when the wife of Captain Nachinkin approached the chairman of the Novorossiysk City Executive Committee with an application to build...a second garage, more spacious than the first one. Over 700 persons, including war veterans, have been on the waiting list for years, but still cannot receive space for just one garage. Nachinkina had this arranged on the spot. Subsequently, her daughter wrote a letter to Prokhorenko Sr with a request to "hold" for her a slot at the schools of Novorossiysk, though she was only in her second year of university studies. An endorsement graced this application as well. After all, taking care of the children is a great virtue!

Which conclusions did the commission of the city committee of the party arrive at in view of all of the above? "The statement by M. Pilyushin on the use of his official position by V. Prokhorenko in the course of the placement of his son at the Novorossiysk Shipping Line and his assignment to the Kuwaiti charter has not been confirmed."

"The commission has not taken my arguments into account, though they are confirmed by documents," wrote M. Pilyushin to PRAVDA. "Apparently the honor of the uniform and the damaged reputation of the chairman of the city executive committee needed to be salvaged. Is this an honest approach?"

We agree that it is not honest. The newspaper VODNYY TRANSPORT reported on the events which took place in Novorossiysk. There has been no response whatsoever. In the city committee of the party as well, they tried to convince us that nothing special has actually happened. They deferred to the opinion of the collective of the motor vessel, saying that all the decisions were made by it. Well, we still have industries in which "public opinion" is shaped by a fist hitting the table. Is it not common knowledge that a seaman speaking out against the position of a captain can simply be left behind on shore? After all, there is no dearth of those willing to go out to sea.

However, it is a different time now, and the people are changing, too. Many seamen openly express their resentment of the high-handedness of some fleet commanders and employees of the personnel service, and begin to do something—appeal to the party committee and demand that justice be done. Verifying the statements, of which more than 50 were received, members of the city committee commission searched for the truth together with captains and employees of shore services. Yet they did not find it. Lamentations...about the seamen themselves followed, instead of a determination of the sources of violations and suggestions for a profound improvement in the style and methods of work at the shipping line. Why do they wash the dirty linen in public, it is said, and complain about their supervisors? This is why the captains referred to some of those who submitted statements to the party committee as "people who are not trustworthy."

The work of the motor vessel 40th Anniversary of October in the Persian Gulf ended without an incident. The vessel has long been back to its native shores. However, the passions aroused by the "prestigious" run are still raging. Who is right? The citizens still do not know the exact answer to this question. We talked about the conflict with First Secretary of the Novorossiysk City Party Committee N. Khvorostyanskiy.

"By all indications, this issue has not yet been closed," said Nikolay Fedorovich. "We will see it through to the end. Perhaps we will have to interpret the facts anew, from a position of strictness and exactingness. We will definitely restore justice...."

In all sincerity, we hoped that the "activities" of the chairman of the executive committee of the city soviet would be evaluated in a principled manner. However, the events followed a different navigation channel. Soon after our departure, a plenum of the CPSU City Committee relieved secretary N. Khvoytseva of her responsibilities on a respectable pretext—at her own request. However, V. Prokhorenko still sits in peace in his executive chair. Chief of the Shipping Line L. Loza also took a peculiar stand on the numerous shortcomings in the work of the personnel service. After disciplining V. Bezshchekov and Yu. Afanasyev, he raised their salaries by a decent margin.

This has been the turn of events....

Tajik Authorities Target Poppies, Hemp

PM2106115389 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 3 Jun 89 p 4

[Report by M. Narziyev, Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic Internal Affairs Ministry Political Department press aide: " 'Mak' Again"]

[Text] In the last 2 years some 700 areas sown with "mak" [opium poppies] and hemp have been brought to light in Tajikistan. Some 180 hectares of wild hemp have been destroyed. A total of 262 criminal cases have been instituted and 91 people have had administrative charges brought against them. Some 300 kg of narcotics and raw materials for their manufacture have been confiscated.

The first stage of Operation "Mak" is now under way in the republic. The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Internal Affairs Ministry (MVD) Criminal Investigations Administration has drawn up a plan of measures to detect and destroy both wild and cultivated plants containing narcotic substances.

Every soviet executive committee has set up a staff headquarters, and they are responsible for the more than 500 task forces. They include members of the militia, the State Agro-industrial Committee (Gosagroprom), and the public prosecutor's office, members of the voluntary people's militia and people's deputies, and representatives of the public.

To date, cultivated plants have been found in 74 places (11,877 plants over an area of 239 square meters) and wild plants in 97 places (356,851 plants over an area of 18.5 hectares).

A total of 5,615 opium poppy plants covering an area of 0.3 hundredths [of a hectare] were discovered and confiscated from A. Yuldashev at the "Rossiya" Collective Farm (kolkhoz) in Shaartuzskiy Rayon. Some 300 bushes of wild Indian hemp have been destroyed in the grounds of a silk combine hospital in Leninabad. A total of 4,500 hemp plants sown on 0.5 hectares have been destroyed on land worked by Team No 1 at Isfarinskiy Rayon's "60-Letiye Oktyabrskoy Revolyutsii" State Farm (sovkhoz). A total of 6,000 Indian hemp bushes were also found on land worked by Team No 41 of the Urunkhodzhayev Kolkhoz in Khodzhentskiy Rayon. Two bushes were destroyed on the subsidiary plot of S. Azimov, a worker at a canning plant in the Moskovskiy Settlement.

Following an inspection of the Chuyanchi plot at the Lomonosov Kolkhoz in Shaartuzskiy Rayon, 176 wild opium poppy plants growing along the Kafirnigan were found and confiscated.

A total of 175 wild Indian hemp bushes were found in Ashtskiy Rayon during Operation "Mak-89" on the territory of Team No 7 of the "Kommunizm" Kolkhoz. Even in the "Chumchukaral" leisure zone in Leninabad, 100,000 bushes of this plant have been destroyed.

Operation "Mak-89" continues.

Defense Ministry Cancels U.S. Show in Sevastopol

18001212 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 10 Jun 89 p 5

[Article by A.A. Ananyeva, V. Samoshina, O. Tereshenko, and others: Sevastopol: "Actors and Secrets"]

[Text] We are sending a notice from the newspaper SLAVA SEVASTOPOLYA about why a planned tour of the American theater "Review" was not held in our city. The organizer was the Moscow section of the bureau of youth tourism "Sputnik," and the Children's V.I. Lenin Fund was helping to receive the guests. The performances were announced, but... the Ministry of Defense did not give approval for the 3-day tour of the American actors to Sevastopol.

Can this act be interpreted as a display of vigilance, after repeated visits to our city of foreign military ships and even of the U.S. secretary of defense, who viewed ships of the Black Sea Fleet? Is it possible that the competent organs decided that American actors could penetrate military secrets more deeply?

We are confident that the only secret the actors could uncover in communicating with members of the audience and getting around the city (if there was a free moment), and talk about it afterwards back home, is that we are the same as they, people. We love our city, value art, and hold sacred the memory of our heroes who gave their lives for freedom. And that we do not want to go to war! But this, alas, will remain a secret for them. What is worse, they can reach the opposite conclusions.

This letter was dictated not only by our resentment and disenchantment over a meeting that was not held, but also, as we think, by the untrue position taken by the editorial office of the newspaper SLAVA SEVASTOPOLYA in its comments which place the entire blame on the director of our theater, the cultural office, and even on the guests, and it did not even dare to mention those highly-placed offices whose prohibition was decisive in this matter.

Because the problem is not that the information on the forthcoming tour was given early, but that such cultural ties turn out to be impossible in principle.

We, residents of Sevastopol, would like to apologize to the American actors and express the hope that a time will come when we will be able to meet guests, who come to us with peace, with the greeting: "Welcome."

Moldavian Weekly Published in Latin Alphabet

PM2106092589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jun 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Unusual Issue of Weekly"]

[Text] Kishinev, 15 Jun—An unusual issue of the weekly LITERATURA SHI ARTA—the organ of the [Moldavian] Writers Union—today reached Kishinev's newspaper kiosks. Some 60,000 copies out of a print run of more than 100,000 have been printed in latin script as an experiment.

The publication of written Moldavian in latin characters is envisaged by a draft law published in the republic's press last May and currently under discussion by people in the republic. Scholars conclude that this script reflects more accurately the phonetics and grammar of Moldavian, which is a Romance language in derivation and structure.

This issue of LITERATURA SHI ARTA publishes a latin alphabet for Moldavian and features articles on the classic Moldavian and Romanian poetry of Mihail Eminescu, the 100th anniversary of whose death is marked today.

Visas Still Problem for East-West Travel

18001225 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Jun 89 p 9

[Article by Novosti political commentator Aleksandr Ignatov: "Guilty Without Visas"]

[Text] Quite recently we spoke proudly of our border being "locked." Today we welcome the opening of any and all doors of international communication. With all the more bewilderment, on the other hand, do we receive such "tidings of the past" as refusals to issue visas.

G. Balkanov, A. Pristavkin, and Z. Boguslavskaya could not fly to Paris in late May for a return visit of Soviet and French writers organized by FIGARO-MAGAZINE together with APN [Novosti Press Agency]. They did not issue A. Voznesenskiy a visa in Moscow; he obtained one in Stockholm, incidentally. He could not have traveled from the Soviet Union to Paris. To the surprise and disappointment of both sides, the discussion of the writers' role in society's life did not take place....

V. Simonov failed to obtain visas to the United States three times over the past 2 years; he was an APN and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA staff correspondent in New York for several years and has published two (!) books about America and the Americans....

But perhaps these are all just "retaliatory measures"? At the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Information Administration I was assured that neither in France nor in the United States are there any writers or journalists who have not been allowed into Moscow. Soviet visas are now issued in 3-7 days. The period required to obtain visas from Western embassies is much longer—3 weeks, a month. While the stream of Soviet travelers and those exiting the USSR is growing before our eyes, the capacities of foreign consulates in Moscow have not changed. Just 3 years ago the French consulate in Moscow issued 23,000 visas annually; now it issues three times that number. Hence the lines in front of the consulate doors, the dissatisfaction on both parts.

National habits must be taken into consideration. We are accustomed to being late, and to making up for our tardiness with shock work. When our partners answer in kind, stamping our passport the night before departure, we are offended. And we go to pieces when they follow the letter of their law. What are we to do? Isn't it time to think together, to "humanize" the consular confusion? The idea of a single European visa system clearly merits discussion, as does equalizing the issuance periods, not at the maximum, but at a minimum level. Here it is time for the NATO countries to take a step forward. To my mind, it is also worth accelerating changes in our systems. This includes abolishing the need to go to the MVD Consular Administration, which is not coping with the growing flood of documents, thus lengthening an already lengthy waiting period.

Economic

Congress Addresses Issue of 'Inflation'

18200397 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 21 Jun 89 p 1

[Article by A. Vavilov and Ye. Saburov, candidates of economic sciences: "Controlling Inflation"]

[Text]**Even yesterday the terrible word "inflation" pertained exclusively to "their" problems; its use with respect to our life was considered sedition. But inflation in the country has now been discussed out loud at the Congress of People's Deputies. But the measures for improving finances suggested from the podium of the congress are now quite inadequate.**

First of all let us take into account that the history of economics is the history of inflation. These words are P. Samuelson's. Since World War II disproportions have been corrected by adding to incomes and prices and not subtracting from them. This includes also the overall growth of the mass of money, i.e. inflation. But only nonconstructive inflation can be galloping, uncontrolled.

Our inflation is extremely insignificant and can be very constructive. There is no need to fear price increases in connection with this. All we need do is give people the opportunity to earn money. This is the main thing.

Yet representatives of government organs continue to tell us that the main cause of inflation is that prices are increasing more rapidly than labor productivity is. The enterprises are supposedly paying too much money and the people have supposedly begun to acquire too much. It is as though the people themselves are to blame and their main crime is that they want to live well. Moreover, based on this viewpoint, the minister of finance, V. Gostev even suggested shifting the burden of the deficit of the state budget to the shoulders of each enterprise, each worker (news conference, transmitted through TsT [USSR Central Telegraph] 17 April 89). No government in the world places the responsibility for the deficit of the state budget and the shortage of goods on the people themselves.

And at the congress were they not too calm in discussing the question of state expenditures in general and the volume of centralized capital investments in particular? Almost 40 percent of them are financed through the budget. By a decree of the Council of Ministers they were reduced by only 7.5 billion rubles while measures for increasing pensions were fully postponed until the 13th 5-Year Plan (and this is about 20 billion rubles). Is this decision really in the interests of the people? But the resources of the branch departments and the reduction of the volumes of capital investments are like a reduction of the "standard of living" of these departments, and the Ministry of Finance is apparently afraid of this.

In our view a radical solution to the problem of the state budget deficit and the shortage of goods is possible only by putting the solution to the problem of the basic mass of investments in the hands of all the people. Forms of participation of the population in the investment process are generally known. This includes mainly joint stock companies and enterprises and also other forms that use securities. Commercial banks should also participate in investment. And the banks can use the population's savings for investment.

But economic relations and the market for capital should change more than just the state-department dictatorship in the area of investments. The majority of enterprises should also be released from state-department control: in the form of controlling blocks of shares in joint stock enterprises and firms, they can be sold (and some can also be transferred) to the population, banks, and insurance and voluntary societies. Then our property is transformed from state-monopolistic to nationwide property with collective ownership.

But the success of the economic reform and the development of entrepreneurship are impossible without legal guarantees. The cooperator and the share holder, the foreign businessmen and the entrepreneur should be confident: If he opens up a business now the probability that it will be closed down within a half year is very small. Such confidence does not exist now. The former Council of Ministers easily generated an immense number of decrees—up to 1,500 a year—which frequently contradicted one another. We think that the first task of the Supreme Soviet should be the immediate restriction of the Council of Ministers, its organs, and the central economic departments in their activity for permitting or prohibiting actions. All of them must be transformed into executive power organs, and legislation and distribution of budget funds should be turned over to the Supreme Soviet.

Economist Deputies Want More Radical Reforms

18200393 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 18 Jun 89 p 2

[Article by I. Zhagel: "The Ideology of Economics"]

[Text] Mistakes in our development have got to be paid for. By whom? Critical arrows in the statements of people's deputies were aimed on many occasions at economic scientists. Unfortunately, many of them did not manage to expound at the congress their views on the causes of the crisis, and the ways to overcome it. A news conference of deputies representing the economic science held on 16 June made it possible to improve the situation somewhat.

Academy members L. Abalkin, O. Bogomolov, V. Tikhonov, and Doctors of Economic Sciences G. Lisichkin and G. Popov came to this meeting with journalists at the Institute of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Their statements and evaluations on many occasions were not identical; specific proposals also differed. However, the general position of the scientists turned out to be clearly more radical than the program of improvement in the national economy proposed to the congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet by the government.

Here is a phenomenon which I think is instructive. In other countries, the economists usually entice the government by promises of economic prosperity from two standpoints—suggesting to give more freedom to the market, or, just the opposite, restrict it through state regulation. In our country, all economists have essentially rallied in one camp. Doesn't this fact mean that we are still attempting to develop contrary to scientific theories and economic laws, in keeping with some kind of our own, special rules, rather than pursuant to such theories and laws?

It is no accident that in his statement G. Lisichkin noted that the causes of the crisis are of an ideological rather than economic nature. We are still not able to give up several dogmas which impede further development of the country, primarily the theory of "community pot," which has taught us all to scoop from the state pot as much money as one desires, to take and wring it out using the support of influential people, rather than earn it.

Parasitic attitudes surfaced even at the congress, where many deputies attempted to grab for "their piece of the pie," demanding from the state the funds for their region, or their enterprises in particular. Incidentally, when an attempt was made to estimate how much money is going to be needed in order to comply with all of these requests it turned out that they needed to count in trillions.

V. Tikhonov called the belief that the efficiency of agriculture may be increased abruptly by perfecting the system of collective and state farms yet another dogma. As the scientist sees it, an urgent land reform is necessary which would destroy the state monopoly on land ownership, and would restore the peasant's right to it.

O. Bogomolov stressed the fact that the importance of changing property relations and creating a free market of goods and services still has to proven [in discussions]. It is no accident that, while the necessity of moving toward a self-regulating economy is acknowledged, we are introducing on an increasingly broad scale a ration-card system, which has now attained an unparalleled extent.

In the opinion of a majority of people's deputies present at the news conference, fundamental transformations can no longer be postponed.

Many of those present at the news conference were interested to know whether economist-people's deputies would be able to realistically influence the development of subsequent government policy, taking into account the fact that a majority of them were not elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet. In this instance, pessimistic notes were heard, perhaps, for the first time during the entire conference.

It is important, said G. Popov, that 50 percent of deputies, who have a vote though they do not belong to the Supreme Soviet, are members of commissions and committees.

Problems of Republic Economic Accountability

Estonian Planning Head Interviewed

18200391a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with R.A. Otsason, chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic State Planning Committee, by IZVESTIYA correspondent L. Levitskiy: "Regional Economic Accountability"]

[Text] [Levitskiy] Reyn Augustovich, principles of republic economic accountability were outlined at the Congress of People's Deputies. However, it was noted before the congress that on certain points they diverge from the general framework for republic economic accountability published in the press, which many economists in Estonia received with reserve, and even criticism.

[Otsason] Yes, there are grounds for this statement. However, do not equate this reserved attitude with a negative one. The halfhearted character of many statements in the draft is cause for reservations. We have already suffered much because of the half measures and incompleteness of our economic reforms.

[Levitskiy] Let us specify what is new and progressive about the draft.

[Otsason] The main point is setting forth the principle that every region has to live within its means. This is implemented through the independence of budgets. Now one will have to make money rather than wheedle it out of the central echelon. This is the backbone of the entire reform.

[Levitskiy] In this case, what do you consider to be the most vulnerable segment of this draft?

[Otsason] This is what I began with: the indecision of many fundamental measures. Here is an example. Any region has two purses: the budget and loans which are vigorously used both by industrial enterprises and farms in rural areas. The budget will have ironclad ties to the efficiency of the national economy of a republic. However, credit resources will remain at the disposal of central organs, primarily the State Bank of the union. The banks will distribute loans among regions as they see fit regardless of the economic performance of enterprises. This directly undermines economic accountability. A republic may work poorly while living high, increasing salaries and expanding material benefits through loans. It can live on credit knowing full well that the loan debt will sooner or later be forgiven, as has been the case before. A strict linkage between funds from different sources and the efficiency of national economy needs to be established. I argued this point frequently, and I was supported by other members of the commission. On our insistence, a special chapter was inserted in the draft. Its essence was as follows: Credit resources accumulated locally should be left to the disposal of republics. It goes without saying that there should be a special credit fund for financing the deficit of the national budget. All republics will transfer a share of funds to it according to norms. As a result, the budget of the country will not suffer, and the independence of regions will be preserved. I do not know in which echelon they scratched off our proposal. Can you imagine that such was the struggle for the draft?

[Levitskiy] Not very well. If you have failed to defend the obvious truth—and it is obvious judging by your arguments—then the argument was not between partners enjoying equal rights. Or else your truth is not that obvious and correct.

[Otsason] The draft framework of regional economic accountability is the result and creation of restructuring. However, let us not present the latter as an idyll. It is struggle indeed.

[Levitskiy] A more specific question. What would you like to write into the resolution?

[Otsason] Clear-cut and lucid statements giving the governments of republics an opportunity to regulate the system of credit, taxes, wages, and incomes. The branches and central organs are very reluctant to yield both their economic and political prerogatives. This is why "novelties" appear which are alien to the very idea of economic independence, for example, withholding contributions for the union budget from the profits of enterprises reporting to union-republic and republic ministries. Thus far, such enterprises have not been paying such contributions. Their size is not considerable—the size of the coffers of either the union or the republic does not hinge on them. Their role is political more than it is economic. However, the hands of the governments of republics are going to be tied. Any miniscule change in taxes or prices will have to be coordinated with the central echelon, and permission for it will have to be solicited. One more remark concerning loans, or, more precisely, specialized banks. The draft merely raises the issue of the feasibility of transferring the Zhilsotsbank [Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development] and the Agroprombank [Agroindustrial Bank] to republic control. This needs to be done by all means, the same as the transfer of the remaining specialized banks, except for the State Bank of the union. Its task is to provide general management of the financial policy of our country. It is understood that the interests of the union budget should not be infringed upon. However, their linkage with the economy should be designed in such a manner that the freedom of actions in the field is not diminished.

[Levitskiy] Is this realistic?

[Otsason] Quite realistic. The republics collect taxes on all production in their territory, and then settle with the union budget. This is the most reasonable and radical way.

[Levitskiy] You stress continuously the role of local initiative. However, even the sectors ceded to republic control, such as trade, light industry, the agroindustrial complex—are also preserved as union sectors. Whose initiative and authority will get the upper hand?

[Otsason] Undoubtedly those of all-union ministries. This is exactly an example of half measures. If the ministries remain, so does the mechanism of interference by them. This is why it is necessary to expressly state in the resolution that the union and republic budgets are separate. Such an approach would also be the best in planning the entire national economic operations. The present situation is unnatural. Planning proceeds from top to bottom rather than from bottom to top, from the republic to the union. We prepare a national economic plan, but we do not confirm it until the all-union plan is prepared. Later, we make our calculations fit the latter, ensuring a balance of supply and demand on paper.

Under the new conditions, the government of the republic will itself determine which products need to be produced and in what quantities, and how they should be managed, which segment of them is to be earmarked for the local market, and which is to be sold to other republics and countries. We will impose limits on ourselves in order to have sufficient resources left over for the equivalent exchange of goods with other regions.

The central echelon retains control over the distribution of the most significant, strategic products. The rest involves interrepublic exchange as a prerequisite for both the free wholesale trade and free, saturated market. Therefore, suspicions of isolationism and the severing of economic integration are unfounded.

[Levitskiy] You do know, however, that these suspicions have been aroused by measures undertaken in Estonia aimed at protecting the domestic market? Should it be protected? And in what manner?

[Otsason] It should. Inasmuch as the government is responsible for supplies to the populace, it is obligated to control both the imports and exports of goods, and to protect its market. Of course, those offended come forward, both the people and the regions. However, the need for expanding the interrepublic exchange of goods will counteract the negative consequences. In Europe, the same principle applies. All countries vigorously saturate their markets, but at the same time struggle vigorously for marketing their goods everywhere.

[Levitskiy] Alas, European countries have long forgotten about all kinds of artificial distribution measures. Someone else's customer over there is their best friend, a godsend. In our country, he is an enemy, a "marauding customer."

[Otsason] As an economist, I definitely agree with you: All methods of artificial distribution—ration cards, coupons, orders, private sales, vouchers—deserve to be hated. However, at whom should the hatred be directed? Perhaps primarily against those who have created the economic mechanism in which currency has lost the role of an equivalent, and its emission has been greatly exceeding the supply of goods for a long time now.

The concept of defending the domestic market of republics through artificial measures has sprung up in view of the absence of prospects for restoring health to the economic mechanism in the short run. A local, regional currency is the most intelligent of such measures. I know that my words will cause a negative reaction, but I will be honest and sincere.

The following variant is also quite possible: a unified financial system closely tying together the republic and all-union currencies. Most economists of the Baltic area defend the need for a regional currency. It is particularly useful until such time as the monetary unit of the state stabilizes, and the ruble becomes convertible.

[Levitskiy] Estonia is one of the most affluent republics. This means that its citizens have still more rubles not covered by the deliveries of goods than those of other regions. When they are exchanged into Estonian crowns—they say that this is what the local currency unit may be called—when they are exchanged honestly, a surplus of crowns likewise not covered by the deliveries of goods is going to emerge. What is the difference?

[Otsason] During the exchange of, say, crowns into the funds of visitors, guests of our republic, some kind of an exchange rate is going to be established. After all, we are not embarking on it all just to change the name of the ruble, but in order to make domestic currency circulation healthier; to put it bluntly, to siphon the money away from our own population. Please understand that along with our monetary system, we acquire the responsibility for this system, and the incentive to fine-tune it as soon as possible.

[Levitskiy] On 1 January 1990, Estonia, along with Latvia, Lithuania, and Belorussia, are switching to self-management and self-financing. Is this in line with the concept of Estonian economic self-management?

[Otsason] Our entire republic developed the concept of IME (acronym for the Estonian name of republic economic accountability). We set up a temporary scientific collective at the Institute of Economics in order to study the issues of regional economic self-management. Similar creative groups appeared also at the polytechnical institute, the University of Tartu, and the "Mayonor" Bureau.

The overall concept of republic economic accountability was developed on the basis of competing variants.

I believe that we have been successful in developing a program for such mutual relations between the republics and the central echelon which builds up integration rather than winds it down, and guarantees the unity of the state while providing the greatest possible independence of regions.

[Levitskiy] As some economists have observed, the IME concept contains certain statements which contravene the current legislation and norms, e.g., the statement on private property.

[Otsason] We consider small-scale private property to be a form of individual property. Strictly speaking, a personal passenger car used as a taxi is already a private means of production. However, I agree that there is much in the concept that departs from today's normative acts. However, why do we need the concept if there is nothing new in it?

The question of how the concept is to be implemented is more important: on our own, regardless of the union documents, or through changes in the all-union legislation? We would like to secure such changes.

[Levitskiy] Does the IME concept take into account the Law on State Enterprises and the rights of collectives it entails?

[Otsason] Above all, the concept protects the rights of the collective and its independence from the ministry. At present, the ministry may freely appropriate some of the enterprise's profit and centralize it. We are against this. Let those who have earned the funds manage them. Undoubtedly plants under all-union control should also serve the needs of the republic—produce more consumer goods and merchandise for rural areas. Fabrications about the sly economists who have thought up a way to close down large plants and force the workers to leave involve malicious intent on someone's part. Any enterprise which is stopped is a loss for all of us. We have a labor shortage everywhere; nowhere do we have people to spare. Besides, it is the forms of managing the national economy rather than the forms of subordination that are important.

Thus, the IME concept is colliding not with the interests of labor collectives, but with the overblown powers of ministries.

We will go on arguing that an entire array of compromises in the draft, which will unavoidably slow down the economic renewal, are erroneous. However, we will prove this not in words alone, but through the experience of our work in the environment of independence. Then the need for more radical steps will become more obvious....

Problems of Accountability, Compromise

18200391b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences O. Yun, executive secretary of the Economic Council: "Compromises and Interests"]

[Text] The first thought suggested by the responses of R.A. Otsason to the IZVESTIYA correspondent is beyond any doubt: Both the level of preparedness for switching to economic accountability and the level of understanding of the principles of economic accountability differ among various regions. This is why the draft of general principles represents compromises between these differences. However, on some items a compromise could not be achieved successfully. With regard to these items, two members of the commission out of 25, representatives of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the Estonian SSR, kept to their views and signed the draft general principles with reservations. Therefore, we have yet to discuss and debate these points, which R.A. Otsason is doing in his interview with IZVESTIYA, submitting our internal discussions for judgment by the readers and the general public. Well, this is quite in keeping with the spirit of the times.

Accusing central offices of slowing down the economic reform, he overlooks for some reason the fact that the reform itself was initiated at the center. Among other things, the author of the interview regards as the slowdown the fact that the members of the commission included in the draft general principles a statement on withholding contributions to the union budget from the profit of republic-managed enterprises...

However, is it not proposed at the same time to transfer to republic control the enterprises of the agroindustrial complex, light industry, construction, construction materials industry, trade, and so forth? Do these enterprises cease to be the property of the entire people when transferred to republic control? Certainly not.

Of course a situation is conceivable whereby the property of the entire people is transferred to the republics free of charge. However, this is not in the spirit of economic accountability whose enhancement R.A. Otsason advocates.

As an embodiment of the right to property of the entire people, the state should receive a segment of the profit of all enterprises, regardless of whether union or republic organs manage them. In the process, the hands of republic leadership are not at all going to be tied, as R.A. Otsason warns. After all, some of the profit in question will, in keeping with the general principles, be contributed to the revenue side of the all-union budget at a stable, fixed rate set by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and unified for all republic-managed enterprises. What is in it that does not comply with what R.A. Otsason is also advocating—that all regions live within their means? Let us note that in all of that the author is not against the contribution of up to 40 percent of payments from the profit of union-managed enterprises to the revenue side of union republic budgets.

R.A. Otsason suggests that the republics "collect taxes on all production in their territory, and then settle with the all-union budget." To his mind, "this is the most reasonable and radical way," disregarding the fact that in this case the union state loses economic feedback from state enterprises and all control over the efficiency of their management. The union budget loses its own sources of revenue, becoming dependent on the republic budgets. Its revenue will represent a sort of quitrent paid by the republics. Naturally, every republic will strive to reduce this quitrent.

Looking further ahead, in the long term, when a considerable segment of union-managed enterprises will have passed to republic control, while the union ministries remain, R.A. Otsason believes that by that token the mechanism of interference by the ministries will also remain. Meanwhile, the draft envisages that the transformed union ministries in their new capacity should concentrate mostly on overseeing the scientific-technical policy, determining the prospects for the development of industry, and solving all-union tasks and problems of organization and methodology. Taking into account the new, expanded rights of the union republics in managing the republic economy, no opportunities for interference by union ministries remain.

Insisting that planning should be structured from bottom to top rather than from top to bottom as is the case now, R.A. Otsason disregards the fact that even now planning is not strictly organized from top to bottom. Draft plans, having been previously laid down by central organs, are later specified in consultation with branch ministries, union republics, and enterprises, which, incidentally, brings about a discrepancy between the sum of enterprise plans and the state plan. In addition, planning exclusively from bottom to top will never make it possible to envisage in the plan an efficient solution for problems of interbranch, interregional, and general-economy significance: scientific-technical, social, and ecological problems.

Here is one more problem which R.A. Otsason appears not to be quite consistent in approaching: How can the idea of freedom in the all-union market be combined with the introduction of a regional currency aimed at protecting the domestic market of a republic? How can we move at the same time in two opposite directions?

It is clear that the introduction of their own currencies by all union republics will give rise to a multitude of exchange rates and necessitate an independent price policy in all republics. What about the all-union market under these conditions?

R.A. Otsason sees the substance of the general principles in the statement that all of us should live within our means. This indisputably acknowledged principle should become the foundation for reasonable compromises.

Agricultural

'Surprises' of Early Summer Weather Viewed

18240184a Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 10 Jun 89 p 4

[Commentary by A. Shubalov, scientific associate at the USSR Hydrometeorological Center: "Those Summer Surprises"]

[Text] What will the summer be like, hot or rainy, cold or dry? This is the perennial question that faces the peasant, particularly now, for last winter and spring there were alarming moments in the weather. The excessively warm winter led to a situation in which in the north the winter crops were literally suffocating under a thick snow cover, while in the south they were, metaphorically, on "starvation rations" since the expected plentiful rainfall did not appear.

Then came an unusually early and friendly spring—and again a dirty trick from the weather! At the end of May when the orchards were in blossom and when it seemed the cold was behind us there were sudden frosts lasting several days that were merciless to the early potatoes, and particularly to the fruit on trees and shrubs. It was painful to see how they succumbed in a moment, not only in the central zone but also in the lower reaches of the Don and the Dnepr. But the weather had still not done it all.

In April, and particularly in May, the rain, which at that time was like gold, started to miss the European part of the country. The high temperature and the wind literally sucked the moisture out of the soil. By the beginning of summer the fields of Belorussia, Lithuania, the center of Russia, and almost half the oblasts in the Ukraine were thoroughly dry. A fierce drought hit the east of Georgia. In short, once again we were convinced of the correctness of the popular wisdom which says that "an early spring brings no good."

Now, it seems that all of nature is just begging for rain and the only thoughts of the farmers are that it will come in time and provide adequate moisture for the soil. But as often happens, instead of a long, steady rain after the heat, water is falling from the sky like waterfalls. Damaging cloudbursts are occurring. Blinding lightning flashes out of the dark clouds. A squall wind beats across the land breaking off the tree branches.

Sometimes a short 15-minute downpour can empty more moisture onto the land than the hour-long snowfalls of winter. And it is fine if the thunderclouds keep moving and do not remain over one spot. When this happens there is a real deluge. For example, late in June of 1924, in Moscow in the area of the Belorusskiy railroad station 95 millimeters of rain fell in one-and-a-half hours; that is, almost 10 buckets of water per square meter, while not a drop fell on the outskirts of the city. According to the very roughest of calculations, the energy in such a cloud is the equivalent of two or three large electric power stations. If only we could harness such power!

To the point, it is precisely the colossal energy of the atmosphere that is still the main obstacle against weather control. But even if mankind can find the necessary energy sources he will still have to adapt his activity to natural processes. And for this we need correct forecasts for months and seasons ahead. Their value is incomparably higher than forecasts covering several days. But alas! This is not something for today.

And now the fields need rain just as they need good hot days for the harvesting. This will make it possible to calm the alarm of the farmers for the fate of the future harvest.

RSFSR Livestock Wintering Assessed

LD2606123689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] An assessment has been made of the work of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] livestock farmers during the wintering period, that is October 1988 through May 1989. Compared with the previous winter, the sale of livestock and poultry in collective and state farms and interfarm enterprises has risen by 303,000 tonnes. Milk production has risen by 762,000 tonnes and egg production has risen by more than 500 million eggs. Accordingly, the purchasing of meat and milk has increased.

This is the object of a joint report of the State Administrations for Statistics and the State Agro-Industrial Committees of the RSFSR and the nonblack soil zone of the republic. The best results have been achieved by the farms of Orel, Ryazan, Kuybyshev and some other oblasts and also of the Mari, Tatar, and Kabardino-Balkar ASSR's [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]. These areas have increased meat and milk production by 7-18 percent.

As before there can be observed a great contrast in the development of livestock and productivity not only at the farm level but also in various oblasts and republics. For example, Leningrad, Moscow and Orel oblasts, and also the Mari ASSR gained 11-14 kg of milk on average per cow a day in May, whereas Kostroma, Yaroslavl, and Amur oblasts, and Krasnoyarsk kray received only 6-7 kg of milk on average per cow a day. And, as a whole, in the RSFSR, the average daily yield of milk in May was 9.3 kg. Especially livestock farmers of Voronezh and Omsk oblasts and the Chuvash ASSR are lagging behind.

In various ways the sale of livestock produce to the population is proceeding. A main cause of poor supply is the enormous loss when produce is procured and processed. The Lithuanian and Belgorod methods of purchasing livestock and milk are being disseminated too slowly.

Scientific

Space 'Motorcycle' To Aid Repairs, Construction

LD2606135989 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] The Soviet Union has made a space motorcycle to maneuver in outer space. The chief designer (Guy Severin), describes it in a newspaper [not further identified] article. The vehicle will help cosmonauts do repair work on orbital stations on a much bigger scale, and in the future the vehicles will be instrumental in building major structures in space meant for national economy purposes.

Military

Continued Reportage on Submarine Accident

Naval Command Gives Details

PM2606153589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Jun 89 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed announcement headlined: "At the USSR Ministry of Defense," followed by N. Dombkovskiy commentary]

[Text] Moscow, 26 June (TASS)—A Soviet atomic submarine's main power-generating unit broke down at 0417 today when the vessel was in an area 350 kilometers south of Bear Island, the Soviet Defense Ministry announced today.

According to the commander of the Northern Fleet submarine, the reactor's first loop lost air-tightness, and the main power-generating unit had to be shut down.

The personnel was not affected. The submarine is heading toward home base above surface, using auxiliary engines.

Ships and aircraft of the Northern Fleet are heading toward the submarine. There is permanent communication with the submarine. [announcement ends; commentary follows]

After receiving this report we got in touch with the country's Naval Command. We were given the following details:

The nuclear submarine was returning home after a long autonomous voyage. The accident happened only a short distance from the shore. After surfacing, the submarine headed for the shore using its auxiliary engines.

At the same time rescue aircraft took off and surface ships headed for the submarine. The aviators' assistance was required to guide the ships to the submarine along the shortest route. By midday, when the submarine was located at 71 degrees and 35 minutes northern latitude and 21 degrees 00 minutes eastern longitude, essential goods and materials had been transferred on board. In addition to the ships of the Red Banner Northern Fleet, the timber-carrier "Konstantin Yuon," which belongs to the Northern Shipping Line, was involved in this operation.

If everything goes as normally as it has so far and there are no hitches with the weather, the submarine will dock at its home berth tomorrow.

Yazov Cited on Incident

PM2606154789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 6

[R. Ignatyev account of statement by USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov under the rubric "Details for IZVESTIYA": "Accident on Submarine"; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] An accident occurred on a Soviet nuclear-powered submarine in the Norwegian Sea, approximately 60 miles off Norway's northwest coast, at 0417 hours on 26 June 1989. An IZVESTIYA correspondent asked USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov for details of the incident.

"The accident occurred in the main power unit while the submarine was submerged. According to preliminary data, a burst pipe in the reactor's first circuit disrupted its hermetical seal. The ship's commander, Captain Second Rank Yu. Kasatkin, ordered emergency surfacing. The boat then continued on its way using its auxiliary diesel engines. The main power unit was immediately shut down. There were no injuries among the personnel...

"Soviet ships and aircraft were on their way to the site of the accident as soon as news of the submarine incident arrived. Communications were established between Admiral F. Gromov, commander of the Northern Fleet, and the submarine commander. Two of our marine transports approached the boat in the afternoon. They will supply fresh water to cool the reactor. The boat itself is traveling at a speed of 4 knots. Radiation conditions on it are normal. The people are safe. A large antisubmarine warfare ship is expected. It will take the boat on tow and take it back to its base in Severomorsk. A technical commission will be set up to investigate the causes of the accident. Constant communications are being maintained with the boat.

"The accident which occurred on this nuclear-powered submarine poses no ecological threat."

Navy Commander Interviewed

LD2606221189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1940 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Interview with Vladimir Nikolayevich Chernavin, commander in chief of the Soviet Navy, by television correspondent S. Slipchenko on 26 June at Naval Headquarters—recorded]

[Text] [Slipchenko] Before we started the recording, Vladimir Nikolayevich [Chernavin] received another voice report on the situation aboard the nuclear submarine. Such reports are coming in regularly and it is here, at Naval Headquarters, that the most objective information is concentrated. Before the cameras started working Vladimir Nikolayevich said that submarines of this class were equipped with two nuclear reactors of the water-cooled type and the loop of one of them was damaged. This information is now important to experts, both Soviet and foreign ones. And so, how did the events develop and what is now happening on board the atomic submarine?

[Chernavin] The accident occured; we received the signal at 0441 from the submarine. The submarine put out the standard signal which says that iregularities had appeared in the work of the submarine's atomic power unit. These irregularities are connected with disturbance of the tightness of the water system which removes heat from the reactor, or the so-called first loop system. According to our regulations, the operation of such an atomic power unit is halted for safety reasons. The command was carried out. That was a point of our instructions. The submarine surfaced. Both reactors were shut down by means of the standard absorbers. And, since the submarine had been at sea for a long time, for several months, anyone who has anything to do with atomic power engineering knows that much time is needed after the reactor has been shut down to remove the heat which it continues to emit, and effect the so-called cooling-off of the reactor. This cooling of the reactor is being carried out on one unit where the first loop is tight, along with flushing of the reactor, that is, also feeding water by a special means to the reactor on the side where the loop is not tight.

Having surfaced, the submarine started the auxiliary engines. This is a diesel electric unit. The generators are also diesel. And, on its own power, it headed for the area of the base. After receiving the signal we immediately took the following actions: We sent a plane, planes, to the area of our submarine in case communications were suddenly cut and the accident, say, might take on a graver nature, for insurance. We sent two ships which were nearby, one from the Ministry of Fisheries, one from the Ministry [as heard], and one motor vessel, which have already arrived. They arrived already in the morning in the area of the submarine in case they need to be given any help. A rescue detachment went there from Severomorsk, and a big antisubmarine vessel, the "Simferopol". It happened on the Nordkapp-Medvezhiy meridian at a distance of 300 miles from Severomorsk.

Continual reports are coming in from the submarine. These reports say that the cooling of the atomic power unit is continuing according to plan. These reports say that the personnel have not suffered. These reports say that the radiation situation inside the submarine in all compartments—including, according to the report of the submarine commander, in the sixth compartment where the atomic power units, the reactors, are located—is normal. The situation is being monitored.

[Slipchenko] On the aircraft which were sent to the accident zone, is there any measuring equipment to establish whether or not there was any fall-out.

[Chernavin] With the arrival there of a big antisubmarine ship and a rescue ship there is such equipment there and there is a special radiation safety group which can fully monitor the situation on the submarine, inside the submarine. Inside the submarine even now, the situation is being monitored with its own standard equipment. The fact that there should not be any fallout is conditioned by the fact that the water from the leaky loop runs into a cistern specially provided on the submarine, there cannot be any such fallout, and we do not think there will be any pollution even when the submarine arrives in base. It is not an accident of that level. But in order that there should be no such fallout or such pollution of which I have spoken, it is necessary to finish the job and the personnel must calmly carry out all the duties which are incumbent upon them, and bring the submarine into base in the same condition as it is now. This depends on how they cope with the transfer of the submarine. It is now going at a much slower speed then it would with the main power unit. So far the weather in the area is good. The weather also always imposes additional difficulties if it gets worse. Overall, at sea there are always many different points which affect the actions and conditions of people. So far we have no apprehensions of this sort.

[Slipchenko] When do you expect the submarine to arrive in base?

[Chernavin] We expect that the submarine, given the circumstances in which it now finds itself and given the weather, will arrive in base under its own steam in 3 days time, that is on the 29th, escorted by our ships which are ready, if need be, to give it due help.

[Slipchenko] Were there nuclear weapons on board this submarine?

[Chernavin] There are both conventional and nuclear weapons on board this submarine. They are, you understand, in a safe condition, because what happened inside the submarine is connected with the main power unit and is not connected with the weapons which it carries.

[Slipchenko] What needs to be done to prevent rumors, which get in the way of work, from arising around such situations?

[Chernavin] I think that information is needed—information which is first and foremost truthful and authentic. We gave such information very quickly and, if I remember correctly, such information was already announced by TASS somewhere around 1000 probably. We had prepared this information and they reported it truthfully. But, as always, many people after hearing this information immediately made up their minds to get hold of some additional information. For example there were questions such as: What was the reason for this leak in the first loop? Neither I nor anyone else, including the submarine's crew, can answer that question yet. That is quite natural. And there have been other such questions, such as: What was the reason? What will happen from here? Who is doing what there and how, and what should they do? And the fact that they want to have such full information at once shows that people cannot imagine that a nuclear-powered submarine—a submarine in general, but one with a nuclear power plant in particular—is such a complex engineering structure that all questions are not always immediately clear and that it is not possible to provide answers to all of them at once. This requires appropriate investigation, appropriate examination, and we shall do this when the submarine arrives at base, obviously, because the information which we are now receiving cannot be regarded as 100 percent authentic, since the crew on board the submarine cannot answer all these questions either. They must find answers to quite different questions now; they must find out where this occurred and localize it, and, using their best duties and foresight, they must act so that this situation does not deteriorate.

[Slipchenko] Western news services have reacted very quickly to this accident and have in particular reported that helicopters of the Norwegian Navy came to the accident zone and offered help to the Soviet seamen. Also, some agencies reported that they found seamen in life vests in the water, and the Soviet seamen declined Norway's help and said that they had the situation under control and would cope themselves. Can you comment on this? Did representatives of the Norwegian Air Force [as heard] really come there and did our seamen really decline help? Perhaps they needed that help or perhaps it was over-insurance?

[Chernavin] According to the Norwegians themselves, and according to our information, an F-16 aircraft appeared in the area repeatedly. As for helicopters, I have had no report on that. That is the first point. Secondly: aircraft—both ours and, evidently, a Norwegian one—discovered the crew on the upper deck in life vests, because on the upper deck in any case the crew must always wear life vests. As far as this information about people being in the water—I have seen reports from the Norwegians that they thought the crew were preparing to leave the submarine—this does not correspond to reality. We think that now the help which we are giving to the submarine, and which our ships in the area may and will give in case of need, is sufficient. No one has offered us any services in giving help and evidently there is no need for it.

[Slipchenko] Do the reports which are coming in—a few minutes ago you were given a situation report—arouse any apprehension in you?

[Chernavin] When there is any malfunction in a submarine at sea this always gives rise to a certain apprehension, but in the course of today, during which we have been observing it, we have perceived no deterioration in the situation and the situation is not one which should occasion any additional extraordinary measures on our part. And so far today it does not contain any particular dangers either for the crew or for the vessel. But, for this, it is necessary that everyone on board the vessel performs his duties in the best manner.

Shcherbitskiy, Gromov Attend Kiev Aktiv Meeting

PM2006154189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Jun 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Army Communists' Important Tasks"]

[Text] Red Banner Kiev Military District, 16 Jun—In connection with the reduction of the numerical strength of the Army and Navy, the troops of the Red Banner Kiev Military District, like the USSR Armed Forces in general, face new tasks in maintaining combat readiness at a level that reliably guarantees the country's security. Communists have a greater responsibility for the successful implementation of restructuring in the forces as well. These problems were discussed at a district party aktiv meeting in Kiev.

Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel General B.V. Gromov, commander of the Kiev Military District forces, delivered a report.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the meeting's work.